# NATIONAL REVIEW

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December 28, 1955

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION


## AFL and CIO: December Wedding

JONATHAN MITCHELL

## A Footnote, to a Footnote, to a Footnote

JOHN ABBOT CLARK

## A Critique of Mr. Acheson's Book

SEN. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

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*Articles and Reviews by* . . . . . RAYMOND MOLEY and RAYMOND MOLEY, JR. · MORRIE RYSKIND · F. A. VOIGT RODNEY GILBERT · WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · FREDA UTLEY


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# *from* WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

The White House's good, gray doctor, Maj. Gen. Howard McC. Snyder, was playing the healer's role when he told the press last week that the President must lighten his work for a month—that is until mid-January.

Mid-January was the first date at which the President might announce whether he would run. Now Dr. Snyder says it may be mid-February. His decision could carry other Republican hopefuls right up to the closing date of filing for the nation's first primary: in New Hampshire where filing is open between January 13 and February 11. The primary occurs on March 13.

The Adams group could be figuring too close. Now that the President's first thorough examination has shown he must "lighten his work load" other candidates for the top post are already out for more firm commitments at the party's convention.

The "lighten the load" verdict also means that Adams, already an unpopular man in the party, will again make the major portion of White House decisions. And that's a calculated stance from which to make enemies.

## It Could Happen Here

Dulles instructed his lieutenants at the UN last week to vote with 42 other nations to insist that South Africa sit down with India and Pakistan to discuss the status of Indians in South Africa.

To Afrikanders—people of Dutch origin—this looks like rank UN interference in their nation's internal affairs.

What makes the U.S. vote on this subject so curious is this: John Foster Dulles had a hand in 1945 in writing the paragraph in the UN charter which specifically forbids this kind of meddling. That paragraph is No. 7, under Article Two. It says, "Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state . . . ."

Dulles aides excuse American willingness to meddle in South African affairs by saying there is an "agreement" between South Africa and India about the status of Indians in South Africa which presumably lifts the matter out of domestic affairs.

South Africa seems far away. But the UN action there sets the precedent for some future day when the UN could step into the slowly evolving segregation controversy in this country.

## Foreign Aid Increase

Come January, Congress will be told solemnly that all we will spend on foreign aid next year will be about $2.6 billion. That's the figure which now seems to have jelled, with the Administration.

But a bulge in the figure is already visible. It lies in the Department of Agriculture, which holds title to nearly $4 billion worth of grains—wheat, corn, rice. The taxpayer—including farmers—has already paid for the treasure-trove through farm loans.

Now private relief agencies are pressing Secretary Benson for, say, ten million bushels of wheat to distribute free to hard-pressed nations. Agricultural experts admit, in whispers, that this is "only the first request."

Benson is caught in the middle. Congress wrote the laws which permit the Secretary of Agriculture to act the role of Santa Claus. And Santa Claus may expect the usual day-after-Christmas trouble. The other wheat-producing nations—like Canada—are wary of the U.S. dumping surpluses on the world market.

## Add Dark Horses

One of the most eloquent and unusual orations of our times was delivered at a Democratic meeting in Tucson in May 1952 by Lewis W. Douglas, former Ambassador to Great Britain, former Director of the Budget and former Congressman from Arizona. Mr. Douglas peeled the hide off his fellow Democrats, urging them to return to the party's historic principles and place the country's welfare above partisan advantage. The sincerity and passion of this extraordinary address were so apparent that the assembled partisans took their whipping and cheered the man who applied the strap. Tape recordings of Mr. Douglas' speech are again in circulation with suggestions that the Arizonan could be the man to bring unity to the faction-torn Democratic Party. As the Presidential or Vice Presidential nominee, Mr. Douglas would be at least the equal of Stevenson in the art of public speaking, and he has an amazing talent for inspiring good will. In a deadlocked convention anything could happen.



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# NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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# *The WEEK*

**The decision by the** Chinese Government to veto the package deal for membership in the United Nations, in the teeth of the threats and cajolery of fifty-two nations large and small, is the most heartening single event since, in June of 1953, Syngman Rhee took matters into his own hands and released the anti-Communist prisoners, leaving a thousand talkative negotiators without anything to babble about. Russia's subsequent reversal, in the face of the resolution shown by China, is itself of deepest significance. Ideally China would have vetoed, in addition to Outer Mongolia, the four satellite states. But it was Outer Mongolia in which the moral question was centered. Mr. Tsiang, China's Ambassador to the UN, said, rather sadly, in his veto message: "I know very well that there were fifty-two votes cast in favor of the proposition. [But] when people say 'public opinion' . . . is overwhelmingly in support of this package deal . . . they mean the opinion of the delegations at the headquarters of the United Nations. . . . If they mean the opinion of the peoples of the world, I do not think that they are right . . . I, myself, believe that the peoples all over the world expect the United Nations to stand by its principles." So do we. And for focusing on the moral issue at stake—whether a Soviet colony qualifies as free or as peace-loving or as a nation—we are devoutly grateful to the Chinese, who fought it out while our own government acted the role of Pontius Pilate. How sad it is that Americans must these days, when appealing to political morality, so often address themselves to a foreign power. But we rejoice that, somewhere in a cynical world, that appeal is sometimes heeded.

**George Meany showed** himself once again, last week, to be a man of raw courage and superior intelligence when dealing with the Communist issue. He absolutely stunned a group of neutralists in New York when, accepting an award from the National Religion and Labor Foundation, he declared bluntly that Liberals are simply not resisting Communist assaults on freedom with the necessary vigor. "Nehru and Tito," he added, "are not neutral. They are aides and allies of Communism in fact and in effect, if not in diplomatic verbiage." He denounced the then pending package UN deal as "appeasement of the worst kind." Mr. Meany knows with unerring instinct who are the enemies of the working class.



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Mr. Cola G. Parker, elected president of the National Association of Manufacturers, told two thousand industrialists gathered for an annual convention that America is drifting toward "a Communist state, as blueprinted by Karl Marx." Nowadays, he said, "everything has to be secured—jobs, wages, and hours." Everyone, he said, looking hard at his audience, *everyone* wants special privilege from the government. Let industry set an example—by "refusing to accept any federal help." And, we suggest, by refusing to trade with the enemy.

The re-emergence of Otto John is an important psychological victory for the West. We have only to beam back to the Communists some of the thousands of triumphant broadcasts directed at us after John was (as he now claims) drugged and abducted a year ago. These broadcasts attached to John's defection to Communism a great symbolic significance. In which case his redefection has even greater symbolic significance.

All in all, it was a wonderful week.

## *Eisenhower's Decision*

Eisenhower is not going to run.

And yet, some of the most important men in high Republican councils are spending all their waking hours, and even some hours they should be spending asleep, on creating the impression that Mr. Eisenhower *might* run. Some do it less disarmingly than others, but none has done it as awkwardly as the President's Assistant in charge of disarmament, Mr. Harold Stassen.

Mr. Stassen, one will recall, contended that the President should not reveal his decision before, say, next July. Now this is patently irresponsible; and, we are sorry to add, it also reveals the interest certain politicians in Mr. Eisenhower's entourage have in turning a clearly made decision into a guessing game. For anybody who has read Mr. Stassen's strange statement can read between the lines not that Mr. Eisenhower *will* run, but that no Taft-wing Republican is to have a chance to mobilize a following among the voters.

The President, of course, will announce his decision, even officially, very much ahead of the time Mr. Stassen has so deferentially suggested. The President simply cannot permit himself to put a favor to personal friends ahead of the last great service he can render his party. The President, in short, must enable his party to choose the very best spokesman in the crucial campaign of 1956, and the disabled Mr. Eisenhower takes this responsibility very seriously. He understands, we are reliably told, that all legitimate contenders for the nomination should decide upon their strategy by the beginning of February.

Furthermore, Mr. Eisenhower is not the type to fall for the slick argument of the postponement-advocates, namely: that Congress won't execute the demands of his State-of-the-Union message, to be delivered in January, if officially told that its author won't be around in 1957. Mr. Eisenhower has never much believed in the blackmail theory of politics, or in the patronage theory or, for that matter, in any theory. He strongly believes in shooting straight—even, as happened at Geneva, when aiming wrong.

We think, therefore, that we can safely predict that the President will announce, in a matter of weeks, that he is not running for a second term. He will present his State-of-the-Union message with the calm poise of a man who no longer argues his own case; and the Republicans of the nation will start looking for their best candidate without any further delay.

## *An Antipodean View*

In commenting last week and this on Chester Bowles and Lewis Mumford, the eloquent advocates of that basic Liberal principle, *Billions for Tribute but Not One Cent for Victory*, Mr. Kendall summarized their account of what "the masses" want. The masses, they tell us, are irresistibly attracted by Communism and the welfare state, and we must therefore draw appropriate (i.e., Liberal-collectivist) conclusions in guiding our own policy.

Well, that may be what the masses want in Mumford's Dutchess County and Bowles' Connecticut Valley, but their aspirations have evidently not yet jumped the South Pacific. In the Australian election just concluded, the issues, plainly posed by both sides, were precisely Communism and the welfare state. Robert Gordon Menzies has administered a conservative government under which the Australian economy has moved away from statism and has prospered. Apart from his domestic program, there were issues involving the Communist movement. It was Menzies who gave asylum to the high Soviet agent, Colonel Petrov, and his wife; who conducted an impeccable investigation of the Petrov affair against the most powerful pressures from Moscow and from the domestic opposition; and who punished the Australians in the Soviet network to the extent that Australian law permitted.

His opponent, Herbert V. Evatt, head of the Australian Labor Party, is a confirmed Socialist. He has also a long record of friendly feeling for the Soviet Union and for Communists both at home and abroad. Evatt denounced the grant of asylum to Petrov. He offered as conclusive evidence that there had been no spies



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in Australia a letter to that effect written to him, at his request, by Mr. Molotov.

The Australian voters have returned Mr. Menzies to office with a landslide victory.

## Does Carey Want to be Coaxed?

As this is written, the wasteful, unnecessary Westinghouse strike may be nearing its end. In a New York interview, James B. Carey, head of the Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, asked for the intervention of Labor Secretary Mitchell, or, alternatively, President Eisenhower. When a union head wishes a prominent citizen to beg him to call off a strike, it usually means he is already prepared to quit.

One of the things that may have discouraged Carey was the response of his members to a Westinghouse invitation to come back to work. In the first three days, 2,500 showed up.

Their return was a vote against Carey's leadership. Many more, we learn, told their plant superintendents they were being held back only by the fear of union reprisals. At a half-dozen plants, the homes of the first men to return were molested by union goons, and at Sharon, Pa., an outbreak of violence brought in the State police. (Sharon is a special stronghold of the Communist-led Electrical Workers—Independent, which is also on strike.)

As we reported two weeks ago, the issue of the strike is a Westinghouse offer of a contract largely identical with one Carey's union signed six months ago with General Electric—a contract his fellow union officers praised only a few days ago in an Erie, Pa., newspaper advertisement. When he called the Westinghouse strike, Carey was believed to have been at least partly driven by a desire to show what a big man he was in the labor movement. By the same token, if, as now appears to be the case, the strike goes badly, he will have proved he's not so big.

## For Henry, Jr. and Sr.

NATIONAL REVIEW rejoices at the gift by the Ford Foundation to private colleges and hospitals. We marvel, also, at the smooth job of public relations. (Get that figure: *exactly* five hundred million!) What a unique experience it must be to know positively that a single news release is guaranteed to evoke (we are crudely guessing now) one thousand, two hundred and eighty-six congratulatory editorials in diverse papers and journals throughout the country and around the world! Just the same, here's ours, and with pleasure.

A reader wired us the day the gift was announced urging us to call attention to an almost forgotten figure in the festivities. We quote him verbatim:

> I urge that in commenting on the magnificent gift of the Ford Foundation you give due recognition to the fact that this gift was in the last analysis made possible by the individual efforts and accomplishments of one man, namely Henry Ford, Sr. To me this gift was dramatic evidence of what can be accomplished under the system of free enterprise. It is living refutation to the contention that we must look to big government to help us solve all our problems . . . It seems to me that this gift takes place alongside another notable contribution of the first Henry when in 1914 he voluntarily and without union pressure raised wages in his automobile plant from the going rate of $2.00 to $5.00 a day. Left alone, the system of free enterprise can work miracles.

We agree. Today we salute both Henrys, and the system under which they prospered.

## Responsibility at the FFR

With the specific disclaimer week before last by Henry Ford of responsibility for the Fund for the Republic—indeed, with his specific expression of personal dissatisfaction with the policies of the Fund—one's attention turns to its Board of Directors.

In a letter to *Time* Magazine last week, Robert Hutchins wrote the following alarming paragraph:

> The award of $5,000 to the Plymouth Meeting (Pa.) Library, for resisting pressure to discharge an employee, was not made by me, but by the Board of Directors on the recommendation of a Committee of Directors.

The letter prompted us to write to the directors of the Fund as follows: "The current issue (December 12) of *Time* magazine contains a letter from Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, a part of which reads: 'Would you kindly advise us if you yourself approve of the award, and indicate whether it is your intention to make similar such awards in the future?' "

We have heard from only one director thus far. He asks that his letter be kept private, and we shall respect his request. But it is heartening to learn that he did *not* approve the Mary Knowles grant, and would not approve any such grants if proposed in the future. One can conclude, in other words, that Robert Hutchins' letter to *Time* was misleading.

Not enough people know who the directors of the Fund for the Republic are. We list them, with their addresses, below.

Chairman: Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board, Studebaker-Packard Corp., Los Angeles, California

Vice-Chairman: George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College, New York, N. Y.



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Chester Bowles, Essex, Connecticut

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Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Robert M. Hutchins, President, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Pasadena, California

William H. Joyce, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Joyce Inc., Pasadena, California

Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, 36 So. Franklin Street, Chicago, Illinois

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John Lord O'Brian, Attorney, Covington & Burling, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

Jubal R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum Company, P. O. Box 1403, Houston, Texas

Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper & Associates, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio

James D. Zellerbach, President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, 343 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California

## *Professor Dozer Reinstated*

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, chairman of the American Jewish League Against Communism, presided last week at a dinner celebrating the vindication of Professor Donald M. Dozer. "Let's face it," said Rabbi Schultz, champion of one thousand lost causes, "justice was done. We have to take it once and again!" Professor Dozer was reinstated in the Historical Division of the State Department by the Civil Service Commission when it found that there was no evidence "to support . . . any of the charges" made against Dozer by the State Department.

Professor Dozer first fell from grace in 1952, when he refused to ghost-write a series of anti-McCarthy articles. What really finished him off with his boss, Mr. G. Bernard Noble, head of the Department's Historical Division—and got Dozer fired—was the vocal concern he felt, as a scholar, over the "distortion of the Yalta record," and over the administrative delay in publishing the records of other World War Two conferences and of our diplomatic relations with China between 1941 and 1950. All of which was promised to Congressmen in May of 1953 by Assistant Secretary of State Carl McCardle. Two weeks ago, in a letter to the *Chicago Tribune,* Professor Dozer disclosed that although volumes dealing with our relations with China through 1949 have been compiled, not one has been released—with the result that Dean Acheson's notorious White Paper is still our only official record of this calamitous chapter of American diplomacy. Since Congress has specifically allocated funds for the publication of these documents, papers of no "special interest" have been slipped into print as substitutes, the idea being to use up the money somehow.

Professor Kenneth Colegrove, who was principal speaker at the dinner, announced that in the absence of aid for victimized Dozers by such white-plumed groups as the Fund for the Republic or the Rockefeller Foundation, a new foundation, soon to receive a charter, would henceforward rush in to help. The foundation in question is called the McCarran Foundation. It was launched a year ago, and has now in its treasury a balance of one thousand dollars.

## *On Editorial Policy*

A rather distracting thing has happened to us—something which raises questions we may as well deal with early, and publicly, in our publishing career.

Last week we learned that *America* (a Catholic weekly edited by Jesuits) returned to Dr. Russell Kirk and Dr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn articles the magazine had accepted for publication. Why? Because Dr. Kirk and Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn are regular contributors to NATIONAL REVIEW. We wrote the editor of *America* for an explanation, and he, in his reply, quoted from a letter he had sent to Dr. Kirk:

> This morning . . . I came across the promotion advertisement on the back cover of the NATIONAL REVIEW. Its mention of Father Robert Hartnett raises a question which I can resolve only by returning your manuscript. Since you are on the masthead of this REVIEW, I feel that it would be in inexcusably bad taste for me to accept it. My own fraternal esteem for *America's* former editor leaves me no other choice. I regret this very much, since I was looking forward with a certain amount of anticipation to having you in our pages from time to time.

*America's* editor expanded his feelings in a letter to us:



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My reference is to a list of names which appeared, I believe, on the back cover of your second number. In that list I recall reading Father Hartnett's name bracketed with that of Bishop Oxnam. It was a list of the "unenlightened" to whom your review proposed to send complimentary subscriptions . . . I felt then and still feel that your advertisement, by the kind of publicity it gave him, held Father Hartnett up to ridicule. Here at *America,* all those whose names are listed on our masthead assume some part of a collegiate responsibility—along with the editor-in-chief—for everything which appears in our pages. We interpret this responsibility as extending to advertisements of our own publications. Perhaps I am wrong in assuming that this policy is followed by other magazines . . .

We discuss this affair publicly because it is not merely a family matter. Unfortunately, the readers of both *America* and NATIONAL REVIEW are affected by the positions taken. And, indeed, there are questions posed of general interest.

*America's* objection is to a house ad in our second issue in which we announced, facetiously to be sure, an Educational Contest, and solicited "entries"—gift subscriptions—for some thirty-six men and women who are, politically, Liberal. Such people as, for example, Adlai Stevenson, James Conant, Philip Jessup, Eleanor Roosevelt, etc. In that list we included Father Hartnett, on the grounds that the editorial direction of *America* under his stewardship was, quite consistently and quite emphatically, Liberal as regards politics. We did not, by the way, designate these people as "unenlightened," or as anything else. We simply listed them—without comment of any kind—and urged that they be sent NATIONAL REVIEW.

Here are some observations we feel compelled to make in the light of the action of the present editor of *America*:

1. Is it *America's* position, in effect, that to criticize a clergyman is to commit an act of *lèse majesté*? (Such indeed is the working assumption of many "other magazines"—ask J. B. Matthews!) NATIONAL REVIEW's position is that any clergyman who takes an active role in politics should, at least in a particular context, be dealt with as any other political publicist, and thus do we intend to deal with him. To have listed Father Hartnett, alongside some of the men and women with whose views he has over the years had such an affinity, hardly seems to us a violation of the ethics of controversy.

2. Is the attitude of *America* indeed typical of that "followed by other magazines"? Without even asking Dr. Kirk or Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn whether they approved NATIONAL REVIEW's house ad (they hadn't even seen it), *America* instituted a peremptory and retroactive boycott on them (and a boycott against the thirty-odd writers and scholars on NATIONAL REVIEW's masthead). *America's* objection to our treatment of Father Hartnett presumably stems from the editors' belief that to associate him with such as Bishop Oxnam or Eleanor Roosevelt is to "hold him up to ridicule." Here they may have a point. But what they mean to say is that we have judged Father Hartnett guilty by association. Therefore, they will retaliate—by judging guilty (by association) *and punishing* those who appear on the masthead of NATIONAL REVIEW. If that *is* the magazine's prevalent policy, as the present editor of *America* implies (we are sure his predecessor would not go along: he held guilt by association to be a horrible thing), we are impelled to declare, publicly, that

3. This is not NATIONAL REVIEW's attitude. We will not penalize our writers for anything said by any of their associates in any other publication. Whereas *America* is evidently prepared to allow us to exercise a veto power over anyone who writes for *America* (all we have to do is persuade a writer to take a bow on our masthead to get him banished forever from the columns of *America*), we do not propose to give anyone else such veto power over who writes for NATIONAL REVIEW. Nor will we penalize our readers by depriving them of material which they would be interested in reading merely because some colleague of the writer went after us in some connection or other. That doesn't mean we have thick skins. We don't. But we don't intend to avenge ourselves at our readers'—or contributors'—expense. To illustrate what we mean,

4. We should be happy to publish anything written by anyone who appears on the masthead of *America*, should we deem the material interesting to our readers.

## *The Constitutional Gap*

NATIONAL REVIEW has endeavored to act as a clearing-house for opinions on what should be done when a President falls sick, or for other reasons is unable to carry out his duties. Article II of the Constitution provides that, in such circumstances, the President be succeeded by the Vice President, but says nothing about what incapacitation consists in, or on who is to determine when it exists. Here is a serious gap in the Constitution.

In this issue, Raymond Moley and Raymond Moley, Jr., suggest a constitutional amendment. In wording it, they follow a measure introduced by Representative John J. Rogers in 1920, designating the Supreme Court as the final arbiter on such matters.

The editors congratulate the Moleys on their analysis of the problem, and hope that, after rigorous consideration by the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, Congress will take prompt and urgently needed action.



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# The Liberal Line...

**WILLMOORE KENDALL**

During the past week, the Liberal line

—continued to treat Nixon as too hot to handle, and slowed down almost to a halt, at least temporarily, on its recent attempt to engineer a Warren boom;

—kept on spinning its wheels about the Democratic nomination for the Presidency;

—plugged Chester Bowles' *New Dimensions of Peace* and Dean Acheson's *A Democrat Looks at His Party;*

—continued, despite news at the end of the week that Dwight Eisenhower's doctors had told him to slow down, to act as though the President was at his desk full-time. (One reason: Eisenhower might, if needled, force the issue on inability, and give us Nixon);

—continued to find barrels to put Secretary Dulles' foreign policy over;

—continued to be very knowing about the Russians, and their rascality;

—preserved, accordingly, a discreet silence about the spirit of Geneva;

—continued to fan the idea that the next President must be a "middle-of-the-roader"—like Eisenhower, and like Stevenson!

—*dug itself in a little deeper on increased foreign aid* (the Bowles-Lippmann-Alsop line is trickling down, little by little, to the Liberal machine's lower and more backward echelons);

—launched no new themes.

This columnist still believes that the thing to watch is the machine's handling of the current proposal for increased foreign aid. And here are some of the things to bear in mind about it:

1. It got its first airing on the eve of publication of Mr. Bowles' book, in the innocent form of a suggestion that maybe we were having foreign policy troubles because the present Administration is too tight-fisted with non-military aid, especially for our allies. (This columnist was for the most part guessing when, in NATIONAL REVIEW's first issue, he predicted quite a future for this theme.)

2. With the publication of the Bowles book, it began to be recognizable as a program, complete with a supporting ideology. It also began, what with Mr. Bowles' speaking of *vastly increased* foreign aid, to sound expensive, though Mr. Bowles never gets around to saying *how* expensive.

3. An answer of sorts to the question "How expensive is it going to be?" can be teased out of the Bowles book. But it is there merely by implication—in the commitments the program would saddle us with, the reasons we are given for adopting it, and, ultimately, in the basic premises on which those reasons rest.

4. What is needed, in order to answer the question "how expensive?" satisfactorily, is a clear statement of the intellectual apparatus underlying Mr. Bowles' circumlocutions. Such a statement would show us the premises of the program as they look when they are naked. It would put candidly the reasons why persons who hold these premises must turn to stepped-up foreign spending as the major bet for our foreign policy. And it would leave us in no doubt as to the precise character of the commitments appropriate to these premises.

5. Such a statement, happily, is available to us in Mr. Lewis Mumford's brief essay called "The Art of the 'Impossible'." [1]The Mumford line may be paraphrased as follows:

The USSR is committed to ruthless schemes of world conquest and world dictatorship. We must, therefore, dislodge the present leaders, or at least bring about a change in their policy.

The USSR has immense appeal for other nations: it makes verbal professions of peace, and it promises an *end to exploitation of human beings through private control of the means of production.* Any nation that hopes to dislodge the leaders in the Kremlin *must start out by abolishing exploitation through private control of the means of production.* It must then show that its means of bringing this about are "better" than those of the Russians. For it will need the active aid of millions of people who subscribe to the "ideal of Communism—the Welfare State writ large." Getting that aid calls for *a policy broad enough to include the great masses of impoverished people* inside and outside the USSR.

We have made a mistake in attacking Communism, which is the one element in Russia that is "humanly defensible"—"whether or not desirable." Our real enemy is Fascism. Russia, of course, has long been a full-fledged Fascist state. We cannot rely upon nuclear weapons for the accomplishment of our purposes. They are now useless, and therefore irrelevant. And even if they were not useless, they are instruments of genocide, which is immoral, and so not available to us as a means.

Our only hope: make the UN a genuine "instrument of world cooperation," able to safeguard men against war by "promoting justice." During the "safe" three years after the war we had an opportunity to do that, and three times possessed an "idea" that would have turned the trick. Lend-Lease was such an idea; so was UNRRA; so was the Marshall Plan. All three times we failed to grasp the "ideal goal" of our "material succor" (reason: we lacked the necessary courage and conviction). We must now get such an idea, and stop shrinking from proposals that would involve difficulties and sacrifices beyond what people are accustomed to. We must bring forth proposals for promoting the welfare of "humanity as a whole."

The things to notice here, which emerge much less clearly in the Bowles book:

—the unlimited and essentially unlimitable character of the proposed commitments;

—the extent to which the proposals rest on typically Liberal thinking about the uselessness of nuclear weapons;

—the explicit attitude toward difficulties and sacrifices beyond what people are accustomed to; and

—the way the proposals add up to a blank check, which we are supposed to cover, through tax funds, of course, no matter what it reads when it turns up at the bank; to a state of affairs in which, as Lord Percy of Newcastle puts it, the rights of private property shall be forever insecure.

Mr. Mumford's implicit answer to our "how expensive" question: Fabulously.

[1]Chapter 1, *Alternatives to the H-Bomb*, The Beacon Press.



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# *Letter from London*

F. A. VOIGT

### *British Pacifism*

The other day, I had a letter from a friend who resigned from the government last year—a historian of the first order, a Member of Parliament for about fifteen years, and, in my opinion, the best political brain we have. He wrote: "I am frightened for my country." I have just had a letter from a lecturer in economics at the City of London College, a man with an extraordinary *flair*. He writes: "I share your pessimism over our present situation, but on domestic as well as on foreign affairs. It isn't so much that the Russians are outmaneuvering us as that our latent pacifism has corrupted clear thinking. In any case, Macmillan strikes me as a feeble and vulgar Foreign Minister and Eden as a nothing. The Government's a bad team; it lacks courage. Monckton is far too ready for bonhomie, far too reluctant to risk unpopularity. Butler knows what the domestic canker is, but seems also to fear to speak plainly. It is a Government of Equivocators. Every Minister should be forced to say night and morning: We are at war with Russia! We are at war with Russia!"

Between the wars, pacifist zealotry was organized in powerful movements, like the League of Nations Union, that could sway elections and make or unmake governments. The Second World War, which could so easily have been averted by a reasonably sound policy, a modest armament, and timely action of very limited scope, was made inevitable by the unrelenting pressure of pacifist opinion led and sustained by pacifist writers, politicians, and churchmen, like Lord Russell, George Lansbury, Dick Shepperd, and many others. British pacifism was the negative, German revolutionary militarism the positive, cause of the war. The two causes operating together were decisive. Without the operation of both, there would have been no war.

Today, British pacifism is a mood, rather than a movement—a mood that pervades the whole of society, including the government itself, and no more than tenuously related to specific plans, projects, organizations, and institutions.

No political party inscribing the letters UN on its banners could catch votes by doing so. To the general public, the United Nations means either nothing at all or just a place where people (mostly foreigners) spend their time quarrelling and in not minding their own business. We hardly ever hear the United Nations mentioned in club or tavern and, when we do, it is only to hear a word or two of petulant dismissal.

If there is anything the people of this country want more than anything else, it is to be left alone in the undisturbed enjoyment of Welfare. They do not want any more Welfare than they have already; for they have found that Welfare is expensive. But they will not put up with less.

The British working class has lost all interest in the future and in any new order of society. It is concerned with little more than getting as large a share as possible—or even a larger share than possible—of the Welfare provided by society as it is today. The passionate interest which the *élite* of the working class used to take in oppressed countries and in the struggle for liberty throughout the world no longer exists.

There is little animosity against the Russians and certainly no hatred. The Russians are, of course, distrusted, but with a tolerant sort of distrust—"They're Russians, so what can you expect? We don't care anyhow, so long as they leave us alone!"

To those of all classes who are still in their teens or even in their early twenties, Welfare is like a state of nature, something that is taken for granted as though there could not be anything else. The word "unemployment" means nothing more to them than the brief transition, often welcomed, between one job and another. "Full employment," which was so powerful a slogan in the elections ten years ago, is today merely one of the words used for things as they are. Poverty—real poverty—is a historical reminiscence about which some of the middle-aged and old may talk without interesting their juniors or being understood by them. The words "socialism" and "nationalization" no longer mean anything—not even to the politicians who use them.

Few people profess to be interested in the reunification of Germany, and it is doubtful whether even these few are really interested although we are constantly told that unless Germany is reunited Britain cannot have security.

Among Conservatives, there is a tendency to accept official speeches on foreign affairs as though they were conventional or formal pronouncements (which they usually are) and then to pass over to more congenial subjects. Among Socialists, foreign affairs are, for the most part, an excuse for pharisaical moralizing, preferably at the expense of Great Britain.

The people of this country have become so tolerant that opinions hardly count any longer. Opinions, whether expressed in Parliament, on public platforms, or in the newspapers have lost their resonance. Even Mr. Bevan's revivalist fervor is rapidly losing its attraction; more and more people find him merely odious, not because of his incoherent opinions, but because of his persistent appeals to hatred and faction.

If one opinion is as good as another, it matters little what anybody thinks. What does it matter, even if the UN is "a racket"? If people want it, let them have it—"as long as we don't get mixed up with it."

If any opinion is as good as any other, none will command respect. If all men have an equal right to all opinions alike, it no longer matters whether an opinion be a passing fancy, a shallow prejudice, a malevolent invention, an echoed slogan, a piece of impertinence, or a conviction deepened by study, experience, and critical insight.

It must, however, be said that the people of this country do recognize the overriding necessity of preparing to repel open, armed aggression against these islands. They are the only people in Europe of whom we can be quite sure that they will do their duty in the event of such an attack.



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not only on these islands, but on the Atlantic Alliance as such. But they—and successive governments with them—assume that the Cold War is not a war; that (given patience and perseverance in London and Washington) it can be "settled" by talk; that the Russians are bound, sooner or later, to "see reason" and allow themselves to be talked out of Central and Eastern Europe and talked into German reunification and some general "settlement" which will lead to international disarmament, security, and concord.

It is not surprising, as conference after conference is known to have been a failure while it is officially pronounced a success, that people should grow more and more indifferent and skeptical. And yet, they are not apathetic. Apathy and indifference are not the same.

The people of this country are not without spirit. They show little alarm at the destruction that may be in store for us all—or even at those prospects of total annihilation which sundry scientists have been conjuring up for the last few years. Public skepticism has begun to embrace science itself. The imbecility (and, sometimes, the disloyalty) of pronouncements made by scientists who have won distinction in their own special sphere without having acquired proficiency in any other—or, for that matter, any wisdom or even common sense—has greatly diminished the awe in which science used to be held.

There is a deepening apprehension, not of war, but of something worse than war—an apprehension that is not shared by the people as a whole, who, in fact, seem to be quite unaware of its existence. It gnaws relentlessly at the hearts of all who combine deep patriotism with wide experience and political maturity. It is the apprehension that the Cold War is *the* war; that in this war "things are going the wrong way"; that we, the Atlantic powers, are being outclassed and outmaneuvered; that if we persist in the assumption that talk is a substitute for the exercise of power (and there is no sign of any end to this assumption) we shall, within a few years, have been irretrievably outclassed and outmaneuvered. It is the apprehension, not of a war yet to come, but of final and irretrievable defeat.

## *The Cypriot Crisis*

Again and again the British Government was warned that the movement for union with Greece—known as *Enosis*—would resort to insurrection and that the Greek Government would be unable to restrain either Cypriot or Greek public opinion much longer if Great Britain persisted in rejecting the Cypriot demand for a liberal constitution. But British public opinion—Conservative opinion above all—was beginning to turn against the continual surrender of British possessions and positions. Those who opposed the withdrawal from the Canal Zone have been justified by events.

More than a year ago, the Greek Government asked that the demands of the Cypriot Unionists be discussed; the reply was a peremptory refusal. Vast territories, some of them inhabited by tribes sunk in witchcraft and deepest paganism, were being surrendered in the name of self-government, democracy, and progress, but the Cypriots, who participate in Europe's oldest civilized heritage, were not considered fit to share in its modern manifestations.

The British Government rightly recognized that the demand for a liberal constitution was a means to an end—secession. What is *union* from the Cypriot and Greek point of view is *secession* from the British point of view.

Great Britain could not, in any case, surrender Cyprus as a position. Nor was she asked to do so. Both the Cypriot unionists and the Greek Government were not merely willing, they were positively anxious, that Cyprus should remain a British base, for if it does not remain so, it will become a Russian base.

The British Government relented slightly and agreed to discuss the matter, but made no substantial concessions. Thereupon the Cypriot insurrection began, exactly as had been foreseen, and Greek public opinion—the whole of it—was set in violent motion, as had also been foreseen.

The question is: Can we keep Cyprus as a position, if not as a possession? And can we repair the damage done to the Anglo-Hellenic alliance?

One of the ablest of the younger members of the Conservative Party has stated that "Cyprus is literally the last ditch of the British Empire in the Middle East, and I can't help thinking that any yielding on essentials there will provoke the final landslide—both in Jordan and in Libya, and, in some ways, still more important, in the oil-bearing Gulf region."

What are the essentials? They amount to one—that Cyprus remain a British position.

In the year 47 A.D., Barnabas, a Cypriot, returned to his native island accompanied by Saul of Tarsus. The Roman Governor, Sergius Paulus, was converted to Christianity. Cyprus thereby became the first region in the world to have a Christian ruler, and from that time to the present day the Christian community on the island preserved an unbroken continuity throughout the Roman, the Byzantine, the Catholic "Latin" (Lusignation, Genoese and Venetian), the Moslem Turkish and, last of all, the British domination. From Barnabas to the present Archbishop Makarios there is also an unbroken succession.

Greek nationalism was the product of the American and French Revolutions, but the Greek Revolution—commonly known as the Greek War of Independence—against the Turks was a religious as well as a national war—a Christian rebellion against an alien faith and nation. Greek nationalism and Greek Orthodoxy remain inseparable—the Cross of Christ occupies a quarter of the Greek national flag.

The Orthodox Church everywhere is indifferent to forms of government, for all governments are of this world. The early Christians not only accepted Roman rule because they had to; they did so in conformity with Christian doctrine. They prayed for the Emperor although he was a pagan and might be a persecutor. They revered Caesar—but not the deified Caesar. The Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union rejects materialism (whether dialectical or not) publicly, but it recognizes the existing Russian State because the "powers that be are ordained of God" (Romans XIII, 1).

The War of Independence ended in the liberation of no more than a part of Greece in 1921, when the modern Greek state was founded. All further incorporations of Greek communities in that state were achieved, usually by war, in pursuit of the constant purpose

(*Continued on p.* 13)



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# *Pictures from a December Wedding*

**The auspices are not entirely favorable for a happy marriage between the two great labor unions. And the main difficulty is basic: The AFL objectives are chiefly economic; those of the CIO, political**

JONATHAN MITCHELL

The leading part in the AFL-CIO wedding ceremonies went to Walter Reuther, head of the CIO and the Auto Workers, and, in the minds of the earnest Ph.D.'s who run his errands, the model of the New labor statesman.

Appearances confirm this belief. The AFL leaders on the Armory stage wore iron suits of black on blue, and Matthew Woll, the last link with Gompers, a wing collar and frock coat. Reuther lounged beside them in a soft-shouldered number of brown, artfully matching his hair. Outside, on 34th Street, an Auto Workers' truck slightly longer than a freight car, was parked—a complete audio-visual laboratory on wheels. Inside, Reuther's press department ground out neat handouts of Reuther's remarks, for each newspaper edition. The handout for his opening speech ended with "Prolonged applause." When, an hour or so later, the speech was made, prolonged applause duly came, from the Auto Workers' section on the floor.

As foreseen, Reuther was the center of the convention's doubts and fears. These were partly due to his relationship with Adlai Stevenson, whom he had invited to speak on the final day. Perhaps the best-kept secret of the convention was that a group of AFL leaders—who exacted a promise their names be kept secret—had asked Governor Averell Harriman to serve as a stop-Stevenson candidate.

"Three months ago, the chances were overwhelming that if the Democrats nominated Stevenson, the unified AFL-CIO would have endorsed him," an informant said. "Now the odds are reversed: labor probably would *not* endorse Stevenson."

The AFL leaders' move toward Harriman came from long memories, which are a union specialty. One of them seems to have been of Reuther's friend and patron, the late Sidney Hillman. Hillman's union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was well-run and successful, but of no great weight in the national union movement. When, in World War Two, Hillman all of a sudden appeared in Washington as spokesman for labor unions, other union leaders bitterly resented it. They grumbled that he was not in Washington because of his prominence as a union leader, but because he had succeeded in setting up a balance-of-power political group—the American Labor Party—in New York, and because he was an intimate of the New Dealers around Roosevelt.

## *Another Hillman?*

AFL leaders have begun asking themselves whether, in Reuther, they might have another Hillman on their hands. Reuther is far closer to Stevenson than any of them is. Within the Stevenson circle, he is *the* recognized union spokesman. He has that place partly because he took over the Democratic Party in Michigan and made inroads into the Democratic organizations in adjoining states, and partly because he is consciously involved in a more or less total political and economic position.

The AFL leaders wonder out loud what has happened to the ADA, in which Reuther and the temporarily dispossessed New and Fair Dealers once gaily mingled. They suspect it has not died, but merely gone underground. They remember Roosevelt's compulsion to "clear it with Sidney," and they tend to hear in their dreams a ghostly voice of President Stevenson saying, "Clear it with Walter."

Just at the moment when AFL leaders were filled with such doubts, Senator Goldwater and NAM Chairman Sligh adventitiously accused them of plotting to seize political control of the country. Since they could not reveal their overtures to Harriman, they kept silent, ruefully.

A second episode turned on the relationship between Reuther and David J. MacDonald of the Steelworkers. Reuther's Auto Workers was the biggest union of the former CIO, the Steelworkers the next biggest. MacDonald is himself perhaps the ablest of all AFL-CIO leaders, a handsome man with curly white hair and boldly cut features, and, by repute, a knowing taste in books, music, pictures and food. He is distinctly not of Reuther's yearning type, and his admiration for Reuther's social-worker gadgetry—leadership summer schools, indoctrination of union wives, group action of factory workers and farmers—is, to say the least, restrained.

MacDonald is influenced by steel's strategic role in the economy. What are Auto Workers, anyway, but grinders, polishers and enamelers of MacDonald's steel? When Philip Murray died in 1952, MacDonald claimed his post as head of the CIO by right but lost out to Reuther's expert finagling.

Not long afterwards, MacDonald began talking with Dave Beck of the AFL Teamsters. The Teamsters are the largest of all unions, with close to a million and a half members. There were rumors that MacDonald and Beck would join with John L. Lewis to form a third labor federation, one of whose aims would be to break up and devour the CIO. Reuther was frightened at the possibility of such a development, and began maneuvering to bring about the present AFL-CIO marriage.

In the AFL-CIO deal, Reuther asked for the creation of an Industrial Department, into which the CIO unions might walk as a body, with Reuther still at their head. Beck waited until the eve of the New York ceremonies,



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and then belligerently demanded that his Teamsters (which is not, properly speaking, an industrial union) be admitted, and the effect on the convention was of a low-flying jet fighter above a suburban shopping center.

The new AFL-CIO Council eventually compromised, and let in 400,000 of Beck's Teamsters. That admission has put control of the new Industrial Department in doubt. Reuther no longer heavily overbalances MacDonald's Steelworkers. If the rivalry between Reuther and MacDonald remains hot, and if MacDonald and Beck again become allies, Reuther will be outnumbered in what was to be his own private principality. The hopeful maker of Democratic Presidents will have lost his base in the new labor federation.

A nose-count of the new Industrial Department, however, is less revealing than the size of the Auto Workers', Steelworkers' and Teamsters' treasuries, and the drive of their organizers. Here Reuther, with his top-heavy Detroit headquarters and many extra-union ventures, is at a disadvantage. The Teamsters lack MacDonald's art, but, because their members truck raw materials into factories and finished goods out, they are a decisive element in strikes. Again, theirs is one of the few unions to have solved the problem of small locals. Most union leaders back away from locals with fewer than fifty members; the cost of "servicing" them is more than the take from dues. Beck started in the union trade by organizing laundries in Seattle, and made it pay. Above all other unions, the Teamsters are equipped to nibble at competitors' memberships; Beck has always refused even to glance at the no-raiding agreements the AFL and Reuther periodically draw up.

## *The Communist Drive*

There is always the chance of a deal between Reuther and Beck, though during the New York ceremonies there was no sign of a Reuther-Beck understanding. For many big-city newspaper reporters, to whom Reuther is a male Joan of Arc, Beck has been a whipping-boy since the start of his flirtation with MacDonald and the Steelworkers. A vice president of Beck's union, James R. Hoffa, was some years ago in trouble over extortion, and the reporters have delighted in twitting Beck with being the overlord of hoodlums and Hoffa's back-room captive. Apparently under Auto Worker inspiration, this baiting of Beck continued.

Another straw in the New York ceremonies—and one given a sinister color by the barbed-wire relations among Reuther, MacDonald and Beck—was Beck's announcement of a "mutual-aid" pact with the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, one of a group of unions expelled from the AFL and CIO as Communist-dominated. A recent publishing venture of Mine-Mill was Harvey Matusow's book which attempted to discredit the testimony of ex-Communists who appeared before congressional committees or loyalty boards.

The Teamsters-Mine-Mill agreement made experienced onlookers shudder. With characteristic boldness, Beck held a press conference with Manhattans and lunch, and explained that the agreement would give the Teamsters from 800 to 1,500 truck drivers now in Mine-Mill. "It was a good deal," he barked; and as to what Mine-Mill would get in return, that was its affair. The Communist Party has managed to open up a channel to a vitally important American union; and a union that holds a key position within the AFL-CIO Industrial Department.

*Reuther*

Mine-Mill's gesture coincides with feelers from other Communist-dominated unions. The United Electrical Workers, Independent (UE) recently approached Albert J. Hayes' Machinists, and were rudely rebuffed. UE's locals in the New York area have reportedly been hammering at Carey's Electrical Workers-CIO, and Carey, badgered and weakened by the Westinghouse strike, is perhaps the single barrier to their admittance. In his press conference, Beck was asked if the Teamsters had plans to take in Harry Bridges' Longshoremen. Beck spoke uncomplimentarily about Bridges, and then trailed off into a discussion of the Teamsters' Western Conference, the only body authorized to deal with Bridges, and over which he had no authority. Beck's evasiveness may, or may not, be significant; but the prediction has been made that Bridges will nuzzle his way into the Teamsters within six months.

How is this obviously concerted drive by Communist unions to be accounted for? Partly, no doubt, because the new unified AFL-CIO is being pulled by unfamiliar strains, and shows cracks into which the Communists can wedge their disruptive crowbars. But a year or two ago they would hardly have dared. What is it that has emboldened them? A number of things. Geneva, for one. For another, the Fund for the Republic, and Senator Hennings' subcommittee and all that they imply. The Secretariat has evidently signaled that the coast is clear.

A great part of the ceremonies at the wedding last week were devoted to the conscientious reading of interminable resolutions. On the third day, an innocuous little resolution against congressional investigations bobbed up. Emil Mazey, Auto Workers vice president, sprang to the microphone, deplored the resolution's feebleness, and fed the assembly an anti-anti-Communist oration.

Mazey's outburst gave a number of AFL leaders uneasy moments. About two years ago, Reuther permitted the sometime Communist-infiltrated Agricultural Implement Workers to come into the Auto Workers. This was the first major occasion on which such a union was allowed to re-enter the AFL or CIO ranks. What stirred the AFL leaders, however, was Reuther's motive. At the time, MacDonald's Steelworkers had been about to pass the Auto Workers in total membership. The 40,000 Agricultural Implement Workers enabled the Auto Workers to keep first place, and Reuther the prestige of being head of the largest CIO union. Does Mazey's anti-anti-Communism, some AFL leaders wonder, indicate softness on the Communist problem of a kind that will spell future trouble in the feud-torn Industrial Department?

Except for Mazey's outburst, the long list of resolutions went through in dull unanimity. They took in the



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customary New Deal-Fair Deal legislative program—full employment, increased social security, aid to education, public power, slum clearance—and were praised by AFL leaders and the Reuther group alike. In part the AFL leaders were sincere; in part they were competing with Reuther in labor statesmanship.

Nevertheless, between them and the Reuther group there was an irreconcilable difference. The hearts of the AFL leaders are with their unions; their pride is in the number of their members, their pension funds and mounting investments, their personal shrewdness at the bargaining table. Their aim is Gompers' famous "more." Reuther's aim, borrowed from the British Labor Party and the German Social Democrats, is political control over the whole community. In New York, the differences showed momentarily in opposing attitudes toward Stevenson and the Communist issue but they ran subterraneously throughout the whole convention. The AFL-CIO is a merger of unmergeable elements. From such a marriage, no issue can be expected.

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LETTER FROM LONDON

(*Continued from p. 10*)

of uniting all Greeks in one nation. The present Cypriot insurrection is merely the most recent stage in this pursuit. The demonstrations against Great Britain in Athens and other cities of Greece are an organic part of this same insurrection. The insurrection is not merely Cypriot; it is Panhellenic.

Great Britain took charge of Cyprus in 1878 and paid a yearly tribute to the Sultan of Turkey who remained the nominal sovereign. She annexed Cyprus when Turkey joined the Central Powers in World War One. She proclaimed the island a Crown Colony in 1925. Even when the British landed in 1878 they were greeted with shouts of "Enosis!"

The British contend that they have, during the last few years, given Cyprus incorruptible and reasonably efficient government with some measure of stability and prosperity, and that the condition of the island has compared, and still compares, favorably with the condition of Greece. Many Cypriots share this view, though they dare not say so publicly. There are Cypriot businessmen who will confess, privately, that if the island is united with Greece, they will set up business elsewhere, preferably in England. Cyprus was certainly spared the fearful ravages of Communism which spread over Greece from 1944 to 1949. Great Britain is granting Cyprus a development loan to the value of £38,000,000, and the argument that the Cypriots will serve their own interests best if they remain under the British Crown is not easily refuted—if by "interests" we mean material welfare. One of the difficulties confronting the British in responding to the Cypriot demand for a liberal constitution and, later on, for "self-determination" (which, in practice, means secession), is that elections or a plebiscite would be subjected to pressure or even to terrorism by the Unionists and by the Communists.

But the movement for union is so bound up with religion, language, tradition and kinship, that it is unaffected by such arguments.

The Cypriot Turks—remnant of the Turkish domination—are a minority of about 18 per cent. They are contented under British rule and do not wish to become Greek subjects. The Turks in Greece, outnumbering those in Cyprus, are contented under Greek rule. But the fierce nationalist zealotry of the Turks in Turkey opposes any increase of the Turkish minority in Greece. Great Britain, after rightly maintaining that the future of Cyprus as a British Crown Colony is a domestic matter, internal to the Commonwealth, drew Turkey as well as Greece into discussions on the subject of that future. The old antagonism between Turks and Greeks was immediately revived with the result that, on September 6, Turkish zealots destroyed some 4,000 Greek shops, 3,000 Greek homes, and sacked the Greek churches and desecrated the Greek cemeteries in Istanbul.

The military advisers of the British Government rightly regard Turkey as an indispensable bastion against Russia. They rightly think in terms of nuclear war—rightly, but too exclusively. In such a war, Turkey—and Cyprus—would be of primary, Greece of secondary importance. But in the present conflict with Russia, Greece is vital. The effect of British policy in Cyprus is to strengthen the Greek Left, to impel Greece toward "neutralism," and to expose her to the machinations of Tito. Those Greeks whose nationalist ardor has not upset their mental balance are full of alarm at such a trend which, if not arrested, may lead to the extinction of Greek independence.

The Cypriot Communist Party is much more efficiently organized than the Unionists. In free elections, they might well command more than 30 per cent of the votes. They control the Cypriot trade unions almost completely. They support Enosis at the moment, but they have no wish to see British rule replaced by Greek rule, for the Greeks know how to deal with Communists. They are merely using Enosis as a means of ending British rule with the ultimate object of establishing Russian domination. We must reckon with the possibility—or even probability—that the present insurrection will be followed by another insurrection under Communist leadership.

Had Great Britain sanctioned the transfer of Cyprus from the British to the Greek Crown, say, a year ago—with a few years, perhaps, of "self-government" as an intermediate stage on the absolute condition (acceptable to all parties concerned excepting the Communists) that the island remain a British position, the tribulations and the growing dangers that have arisen, would, in my opinion, have been avoided. Cyprus and Greece would have been closely knit together in one defensive system, the Anglo-Hellenic alliance would have been consolidated, and Turkey, solicitous for her own security, would have done no more than protest.

Great Britain has now agreed to "self-determination" for Cyprus in principle—a sign that she may be prepared to sacrifice Cyprus as a possession. But events are moving fast, hastened on by nationalist zealotry in Cyprus and in Greece and by the Communists. The question has come to this:

Can the position comprising Cyprus and Greece be repaired and consolidated afresh to resist successfully the two-fold pressure, radiating from Moscow and Belgrade, on the defenses of the Atlantic powers in southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean?



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# THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

## *National Review Offers Awards to College Students for Assistance in Research Project*

To: Editors of College Newspapers
From: NATIONAL REVIEW
Re: Research Project

Some weeks ago, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, which is a small organization that distributes anti-collectivist literature to any student who asks for it, sent out a chatty letter to its membership asking for news of college happenings. "What, for instance, have your professors been pushing at you?" a member of the staff of the ISI wrote. "Have any of them notably associated themselves with collectivist thinking? (The incidents are important, not the names.) Another thing," the letter continued, "please don't get the impression that we want to hear only the bad side. We want a barometer reading . . . If the situation at your school is encouraging, we want to hear about that, too."

There has been, to say the least, considerable reaction to that letter.

"*Professors Blast Group Searching Classroom Politics,*" blasted the Harvard *Crimson* in a four-column fit of indignation. Said the lead, "Four professors denounce as 'ridiculous . . .' 'silly . . .' 'trivial. . . .' a right-wing organization's plea for information about collectivist thinking on the faculty." Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. told the *Crimson* that "it is characteristic of the state of mind of the country to encourage tattling and snooping." And to give this statement academic depth—as it becomes a professor of history to do—Mr. Schlesinger added: "This illustrates the typical conservative idea that snooping is the way to get personal freedom." Professor Kingman Brewster, Jr. (Law) said, "I would be greatly disillusioned and bitterly resentful if I thought that students were coming to class as spies or reporters rather than simply as students."

There were statements, also, from Professors Mark de Wolfe Howe and Samuel Beer.

In a recent *Princetonian,* a student editor called James H. Duffy complained that over the months he had been receiving "a stream of tripe" from the ISI of a character that illustrated "the sterility and undynamic qualities inherent in the obfuscating doctrines of today's far right." And why had he been receiving the tripe? Because he is "an enrolled member of the ISI." And why does he continue, under the circumstances, as a member of ISI . . . ? (Better watch out, Duffy. You know what the obfuscating right does with snoopers? It eats them.)

### *The Issue*

The returns are not all in. But there is enough there already to underscore a confusion that NATIONAL REVIEW intends to try to clear up. Here is the problem:

It is the contention of virtually all educators that it is the business of colleges and universities to "educate," not to "indoctrinate." By this they tend to mean that teachers should expose students to all points of view adequately and impartially, and should not endeavor to inculcate in them the particular point of view of the teacher, let alone anyone else's views.

It is the contention of many informed conservatives that a very large number of teachers in this country are in fact actively engaged in indoctrinating their students in an identifiable position, loosely described as "liberal."

### *A Solution?*

One can therefore safely assume that everyone involved will welcome any intelligent effort to determine whether indoctrination is actually taking place —under the very noses of anti-indoctrinators—or whether conservatives are unnecessarily alarmed, and the teaching profession vindicated. A project designed to look into the matter by field trips into a number of classrooms ought to be especially encouraged by those who have been most vocal in denouncing indoctrination, and should interest the American Association of University Professors. That is the association that looks after the rights of professors, and can be assumed to be interested to know if there is evidence that a significant number of professors are not discharging their correlative duties. If such a project is ridiculous, silly and trivial, why then so is freedom of research in general; in which event the case for academic freedom is weakened, as far as we can see. In any case, we shall seek the truth and endure the consequences.

### *The Project*

NATIONAL REVIEW, then, solicits evidence of such nature as will clarify the question whether teachers are engaged in indoctrinating their students. For example: Does your economics teacher refer impartially—or in any other way—to the works of Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Lionel Robbins, Frank Knight, Orval Watts, Wilhelm Roepke, or to those of any other economist of the non-Keynesian school? Does he take a position on right-to-work legislation? Does your teacher of sociology urge a particular interpretation of man and his behavior, to the exclusion of competing interpretations? If so, through what techniques? Does your teacher of politics insist on or press a particular idea as to the desirable relationship between the Executive and the Legislative? Does your professor of international relations suppress or ignore the writings of learned men who differ with him as to how best to cope with world problems? Are they fair in presenting both pro and con views about the United Nations? Do they explore the views of those scholars who believe coexistence with the Soviet Union is impossible? If so, how do they go about it? Does the teacher of psychology dismiss religion as fantasy before or after exposing you to the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, or Paul Tillich, or Reinhold Niebuhr?

NATIONAL REVIEW will act as a repository for research material on this important question. Names of professors may be withheld, in which case

(*Continued on p. 16*)



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# *Presidential "Inability"*

## IV. Who Should Be the Judge?

RAYMOND MOLEY and RAYMOND MOLEY, JR.

That bland trust in horseshoes, four-leaf clovers, and magic charms so characteristic of our happy countrymen, may, as politicians extol the miraculous recovery of the President, cause us once more to ignore a truly fearful gap in our Constitution. Perhaps the founding fathers expected too much of us, but they could hardly have conceived of more flagrant neglect than has characterized our failure to close that gap.

In order to bring this discussion of Presidential "inability" back to its basic elements, let us once more note what the Constitution says and does not say. Article II, Section I, Paragraph 6 reads:

> In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The authors clearly conceived the possibility of temporary as well as permanent disability. But they left to us, perhaps unwisely, the determination of a) who should raise the issue of "inability," and b) who should be the judge of the fact of "inability."

History offers grim reminders of our duty to come to grips with this unfinished business in our Constitution. For seventy-eight days after Guitteau's bullet struck down President Garfield the nation was without the services of a chief executive, while statesmen and lawyers pondered and argued. Death provided the only cogent answer, although there was a scattering of discussion for a year or two, and a couple of bills were offered in Congress.

Then for nearly four decades the problem was pushed aside, until in 1919 a cerebral hemorrhage struck down President Wilson. It is true that two Senators delegated to visit the White House reported that the President's condition was satisfactory. But all the evidence indicates that after his return to Washington from the West, when the President had another and more severe stroke, he was unable to perform the duties of his office. In the first place, there is the testimony of the Presidential Secretary himself who in later years told of the wall of protection erected by Mrs. Wilson and Dr. Cary Grayson through which even the faithful Tumulty himself was able to pass information only by letters written to Mrs. Wilson, the contents of which she may or may not have communicated to the invalid.

### *Wilson-Roosevelt Examples*

Second, there is the evidence that in the five months after the President's illness began, Secretary of State Lansing called and presided over twenty-one Cabinet meetings. The fact that all these meetings were held before Wilson, enraged at this assumption of authority, demanded Lansing's resignation indicates a lack of knowledge of what was going on. This would indicate almost complete disability. Finally, the senior author of this article recalls a story told him by a person who may be accepted as a competent witness, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Some time after the nominating convention in 1920 the candidates, James M. Cox and Roosevelt, visited the sick President. Wilson was unable to speak except with a few broken words. Cox told him that he intended as a candidate to uphold Wilson's position regarding the League of Nations. Wilson's only answer was, "Thank you, gentlemen," and the conference ended. The emotional state of Wilson, as it was described by Roosevelt, would certainly constitute a species of "inability."

In this case the inexorable coming of the stated end of Wilson's term resolved the inability question, but only after eighteen months without a firm Presidential hand.

There can be little dispute, after the many expressions of opinion by those who were close to the scene, that President Roosevelt manifested a shocking physical deterioration in the final year of his life. The "massive cerebral hemorrhage" on April 12, 1945, resolved the immediate problem that was torturing the minds of people who remembered the Wilson days. But suppose the hemorrhage had been something less than "massive" and that life had lingered on for months or possibly years, as has happened in the cases of many less distinguished men. Once more, members of the family and intimates wholly subservient to the whims of a feeble but still living President would have commanded the great affairs of a war's end and the making of peace. Once more, Providence relieved us of the burden of resolving a critical issue.

And the heart attack that stunned the country this year again found us with nothing but rambling guesses about filling the fatal gap. Some of those guesses we can dismiss as wholly worthless. Others we can examine on their constitutional merits.

To repeat, what is needed is a competent means of raising the question of "inability" with sufficient evidence to bring the matter to judgment. And then there is needed a competent tribunal to provide a definitive judgment.

It has been suggested that the Vice President is a party of sufficient interest to raise the question, since his own conduct must measurably be guided by the President's ability. In the Garfield and Wilson instances the Vice President clearly was unwilling to make a move. Any suggestion of usurpation in this country would be regarded with bitter resentment, and no Vice President, however devoted to the welfare of his country, would be likely



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to claim power for himself. He is indeed a party of interest, but the interest is too immediate and personal to trust.

Others suggest that the Cabinet raise the issue. But Cabinet members are creatures of the President and, as was shown in the Lansing incident, even a breath from a stricken President can blow them from office.

The parties truly of interest are all of us, but we cannot proceed as an Argentine mob or military junta. Dilatory and carefree as we are, we still believe in orderly and lawful procedures, especially in such grave matters as Presidential "inability." There was created for us a means of effecting our collective will in the form of representative government, and hence we should look to Congress as the guardian of our interests and our advocate. It is undoubtedly in that direction that we must look for a means of raising the issue of "inability."

## *Suggestions for a Tribunal*

Next, there is our need for a tribunal, competent to decide the issue of fact involved in our problem. Several suggestions have been made.

One would be to devolve by act of Congress the final judgment upon the Cabinet or Security Council. For the reasons already given which should disqualify the President's official family from initiating action, this suggestion is completely impractical. The alleged will of a prostrate President speaking only through a White House circle would destroy any capacity of the Cabinet or Security Council to act.

Another suggestion is the creation of a special commission by Congress. But with the Presidency at issue, such a commission would have to be selected by the congressional leaders, all of whom would be partisans. This would no doubt end in the same sort of crass partisanship as did the Joint Electoral Commission which counted out Tilden and selected Hayes in 1877.

We have considered another possibility, which would be to set up by constitutional amendment a procedure parallel with the existing pattern in impeachment cases but with the unsavory connotations of the proceeding eliminated. That would have action originate in the House through its Judiciary Committee, with a jury consisting of the Senate and the Chief Justice presiding. A distinguished jurist convinced us that impeachment proceedings in our history, including those which dealt with President Johnson, show that this method is clumsy, incompetent and disorderly.

**Last Week's Puzzle**

The statue was painted by Walter Cook. For 1) if Campbell painted the statue, the statements of Ackers, Campbell, Summers and Cook are true; 2) if Lloyd painted the statue, the statements of Heath, Lloyd, Pritchard and Jones are true; 3) if Ackers, Heath, Pritchard, Jones, Summers or Bates painted the statue, the statements of Heath, Summers, Cook and Bates are true. Hence 4) Cook painted the statue and the three true statements are those made by Heath, Pritchard and Summers.

## *The Court Disposes*

Others who have considered this question seriously have ultimately decided that the Supreme Court is all that we have to pass judgment in such a grave matter. But those who have made this suggestion and who know something of the long record of constitutional decisions of that court realize that while Congress proposes, the Court disposes. And the disposition of the Court over the years has been to reject all efforts to pile upon its calendar issues that have no legitimate justiciable character. In the first place, Congress cannot pass laws giving the Court additional original jurisdiction. John Marshall in Marbury vs. Madison decided that for centuries to come. Moreover, the Court, even in the absence of the Marshall decision, would reject any merely political decision. The question at issue would, in the sense that it deals with the organization of government, be political.

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court is the only tribunal we have whose place in the confidence and affections of the people qualifies it for this demonstration.

Our conclusion is that the able and respected Congressman John J. Rogers of Massachusetts in 1920 suggested but did not completely provide the only safe, conclusive and practical solution. His bill provided that either house by resolution might request the Supreme Court to determine the ability or inability of the President to discharge the duties of his office. Should the Court find "inability," then the next in line of succession should take over the powers and duties of the President. The Court should also keep jurisdiction and decide when and if those powers should be restored to the President.

This plan, however admirable in outline, would be only statutory. There would be doubt about whether the Court would accept this imposition of a duty from Congress. And by the time a case arose, it might be too late to find an alternative.

Our final conclusion is that the Rogers plan should be embodied in a constitutional amendment which would impose this new item of jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court. In that case, the Court could have no alternative but to act. For the Constitution is supreme over all its creatures.

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THE IVORY TOWER

(*Continued from p. 14*)

corroborative evidence of another kind should be passed along. The magazine will award the two students who submit the most revealing material one hundred dollars each. The formal project will end the first of May (though not our interest in the matter. It may be that one of NATIONAL REVIEW's functions, over the years, will be to act vis-à-vis violations of the academic creed in much the same way as the American Civil Liberties Union acts vis-à-vis infractions of civil rights.) Whatever material we do not publish but deem relevant, we will forward to the American Association of University Professors for its perusal. Perhaps with its resources, and its access to research funds, it can investigate the matter more exhaustively; that is, if it finds itself in possession of prima facie evidence that indoctrination is crowding education out the window.

We shall be happy to have your reaction to NATIONAL REVIEW's project, and we expect your cooperation. Please address inquiries and send in material to the Education Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, 211 East 37 St., New York 16, N. Y.



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# NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

*"We expect to ask the Congress this coming year for as much money for this purpose* [Point Four] as we think can usefully be spent, *and we expect that the Congress will, as in the past, patriotically respond. Also we shall seek somewhat more flexibility than heretofore."* (John Foster Dulles, December 8, 1955, before the Illinois Manufacturers Association. Emphasis supplied.)

A shrewd political scientist once observed that to suppose that federal appropriations are requested on the basis of *need* is to misunderstand the federal bureaucracy; the bureaucrat's annual problem, he said, is to figure out ways in which the money he knows can be got can be spent.

There is a sense in which Secretary Dulles' curious choice of words, when he deals with economic and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas, substantiates the charge. The Administration is aware of a political demand in this country to "*do* something" about the slow absorption of the Asian and African land masses into the Soviet sphere. And since "do something" is invariably translatable into "spend some money on," Mr. Dulles and his assistants have their work cut out for them.

That there is a *need* for economic aid to underdeveloped areas in the sense in which that term is normally understood—i.e. that the absence of such aid will, of itself, predictably injure the free world's cause against Communism—is a proposition that is neither demonstrable nor, in the light of recent manifestations of neutralist sentiment, plausible. Millions to India have produced an orgiastic welcome to Khrushchev and Bulganin. Millions to the Near East have produced a Communist arsenal in Egypt and a revolution in North Africa against a major partner in the Western *entente*. Assurances of better successes in the future are to be found principally in the speeches of Adlai Stevenson and in books by Chester Bowles. Yet, in the absence of suggestions as to what *else* to do, the State Department retains a large number of "experts" to think up projects that will justify further congressional expenditures.

There is not the slightest doubt but that the Congress will respond to Mr. Dulles' requests. The 1956 foreign aid bill will be put to Congress on the basis of "strengthening the free world's position," and Congress will have no alternative but to "patriotically" respond. The majority of Congressmen sense that Communism will not be defeated by filling the stomachs of the neutralists; but until they—and let's include the conservative movement in general—come up with some firm answers to the questions of whether Asia and Africa *need* to be held, and if so, *how;* this particular rathole will have lots of traffic.

**The purpose of** Senator Knowland's announcement that he will be a candidate if the President has not become one himself by February 1, was to pressure the President into disclosing his intentions. It reflects the growing concern and indignation among conservatives over the way the GOP Liberals are exploiting Mr. Eisenhower's continued silence.

One thing that worries and infuriates Knowland and other conservative aspirants: present Palace Guard strategy calls for running a slate of Eisenhower delegates in each primary state where a declaration of candidacy by the candidate is not required—i.e. in eight of the seventeen primary states. Those in the "inner circle" feel that if the President later pulls himself out of the race, these delegates can nonetheless be counted on to support the man tapped for the Successorship by Mr. Eisenhower.

Knowland will be saying, more and more—and he hopes for overt support from other candidates who feel the same way—that the President has an obligation to prevent this situation from developing. As conservatives see it, an attempt to keep control of the White House by running a man who is not a candidate is a conspiracy against the electorate and is reminiscent of the tactics of Democratic leaders in 1944, when they elected a man who they had reason to believe would not be occupying the Presidential office for anything like four years.

**The Administration is** not as unhappy as it pretends over Chiang Kai-shek's position on the UN "package deal." It is no secret that the "little State Department" in the White House favors Red China's admission to the UN, and has been waiting for a pretext for showing the Nationalists the door. Accordingly, the Administration let the world know some weeks ago that should the Nationalist Government obstruct the arrangement to approve a slate of Communist and non-Communist candidates for UN membership, it would do so at the risk of losing its own seat.

Friends of China, however, have been watching the play and any attempt by the Administration to follow up its blackmail threats will encounter stiff opposition in Congress. Plans are already being laid to secure a new expression of congressional opinion on the admission of Red China to the UN—probably a new "sense of the Senate" resolution, reaffirming that body's flat opposition.

As of this writing, the Nationalists remain determined to block the admission of Outer Mongolia (which they regard as an integral part of China). And the U. S. policy on this subject, deplorably unprincipled, is to compel Nationalist China to take the blame if the deal, a product of the "spirit of Geneva," falls through.

The last time the Administration showed signs of caving in to British and neutralist pressures to admit the Peiping regime, the Senate responded with a thundering 86-0 vote against the project. That resolution, in its original form, called for U. S. withdrawal from the UN should Red China be admitted. But it was toned down when President Eisenhower told Senator Bridges, the resolution's chief sponsor, that such language would hamper his negotiations with the British, and assured him that the Administration had no intention of agreeing to Red China's admission.

A new resolution will probably, at the outset, include a threat of U. S. withdrawal—largely as a point over which right-wingers can bargain with the Administration. It too will be toned down—and though not unanimously this time, will pass.



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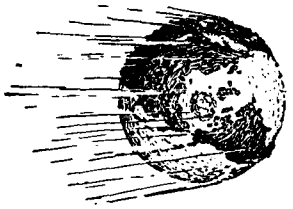

# The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

*To: The Secretariat*
*From: Intelligence Section*
*Subject: Weekly Summary, International (excerpts)*

The present (or Geneva) period is characterized dialectically in the following manner: a) *thesis*—unprecedented freedom of maneuver for the camp of socialism; b) *antithesis*—unprecedented inertness on the part of the enemy.

After cumulative preparation, the qualitative shift into this period took place at the Summit meeting in July. The decisive events were: a) Eisenhower's pledge that the United States would never initiate fighting; b) Eisenhower's public tribute to the sincerity of the Soviet wish for peace; c) the Western leaders' acceptance of the concept of an atomic stalemate. These factors were further reinforced by the influence of d) the U. S. election year and e) the Eisenhower illness. . . .

## *Dialectics of Geneva*

*Subjectively* considered, the so-called Geneva spirit is an expression of imperialist disintegration. The imperialists, sitting comfortably on their piles of booty, would like to persuade or bribe their challengers into accepting the hypocritical pacifism which is in reality the symptom of their historical decay. Thus the Geneva spirit represents the world as they would wish it to be, namely: a world made safe for imperialism and finance-capital.

*Objectively*, the Geneva spirit is a tactical move by our own leadership designed to disarm the enemy, and to increase the revolutionary freedom of maneuver to which reference has been made. Comrades Bulganin, Molotov and Zhukov did not create the Geneva spirit, but merely served as midwives to ease its passage from the womb of history. Consequently, the Geneva spirit is not killed when the smiles of the welcoming midwives turn to sneers.

Although the Western spokesmen whine at "the blows to the Geneva spirit" administered by Khrushchev-Bulganin in Asia, they are not able to cut loose from this offspring which is the projection of their own desires. When Khrushchev, on the temple steps of Rangoon, cracks his whip, the response of the imperialists is to capitulate to our demand for the full "package deal" at the UN, inclusive of Outer Mongolia; and *their* blows are directed not at us but at their ally. Chiang, who—recognizing the logic of a course that must lead to his total abandonment—makes a gesture of defiance.

As each of our recent thrusts drives home—in the Near East, Germany, India—the enemy remains inert, as if his spinal column had been crushed. He bleats like a stuck sheep—and then flocks to the concert hall to applaud our artists, banquets our visiting Socialist experts, begs us to expand mutual trade . . .

## *Contradictions of Imperialism*

Is this condition permanent? Within our ranks there is talk of the final collapse of the imperialist leadership. Some comrades argue that the enemy, no longer capable of a dynamic response, can never again offer a major threat to the advance of the revolution. This is an example of mechanical in place of dialectical thinking.

Our posture is dictated by the axiom that no ruling class voluntarily relinquishes power. Capitalism in its death agony is capable of manifesting incredible bursts of destructive energy.

We note that within U. S. military circles there is incipient revolt against the strategic assumptions of the U. S. civilian leaders. Since the recent war games in the Southern states this military viewpoint has been given guarded but unmistakeable expression. It is suggested that the games proved that "the first blow" may be decisive. The right-wing periodical, *U. S. News & World Report*, published a feature interview with the chief of the Strategic Air Command (LeMay) under the heading: "We Must Avoid the First Blow!" The dissatisfaction of the Chief of Staff, Radford, is of long standing.

The military view is heard sympathetically within certain of the political tendencies—not only in the Knowland-McCarthy wing of the Republicans but among some Democrats also (Symington, Shivers, even Harriman).

It follows that we must redouble our efforts to: a) discredit the military leaders (as men-on-horseback, reactionaries, anti-Semites, etc.); b) attack the parallel civilians as warmongers and McCarthyites; c) press for outlawing nuclear weapons . . .

## *The Uneasy Lion*

American passivity has had an ironic dialectical effect in Great Britain. There are symptoms of British alarm that Washington is doing so thoroughly what London has long advised. As instances we cite: a) the Foreign Office condemnation of Khrushchev-Bulganin speeches as "hypocrisy"; b) the official refusal of the government to abandon work on H-bombs; c) a hardened policy in Cyprus; d) proposals in British military publications to form a six-division mobile reserve for the Near East; e) the seizure of the Buraimi Oasis from Saudi Arabian troops, in spite of Washington's objections; f) the signing of the Baghdad Pact; g) threats to withdraw the invitation to Khrushchev-Bulganin for a spring visit . . .

We learn from India that Nehru is disturbed and angry at the methods followed by Comrades Khrushchev and Bulganin—i.e., at Bolshevik methods. Our aim has been nonetheless furthered. The understanding with India cannot rest on agreement with the volatile virtuoso, Nehru. We go over his head, to forge links with Indian public opinion that will be able to restrain Nehru if he attempts to break away. By the brilliant stroke of concluding the tour with a declaration of unconditional support for India on Kashmir, we have made it impossible for Nehru to give public voice to his objections . . .

Further, the tour reminds the Indians—and Mao—that Moscow, not Peiping, is the center. . . .



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# *A Footnote to a Footnote to a Footnote*

JOHN ABBOT CLARK

Three humanists were found in an old bureau drawer in a Fred F. French building. —*The New Yorker*, "The Talk of the Town," Jan. 28, 1933.

Twenty years ago this week, *The New Yorker* put out its first issue. Our intentions were innocent and our foresight dim. We armed ourself with a feather for tickling a few chins, and now, twenty years later, we find ourself gingerly holding a glass tube for transfusing blood. Perhaps we should have expected this sort of adventure, but we feel like a man who left his house to go to a Punch-and-Judy show and, by some error in direction, wandered into *Hamlet*.
—*The New Yorker*, "The Talk of the Town," Feb. 17, 1945.

"What's happened to *The New Yorker?*" If I've been asked this question once, I've been asked it hundreds of times in the last seven or eight years, by students (many of them veterans of World War Two), colleagues, and casual acquaintances—Leftists, Rightists, and Vital Centrists. This is neither the time nor the place for attempting an evalution of this magazine as it has become of late. But this is probably as good an occasion as any for disclosing how I stumbled upon what had happened to *The New Yorker* earlier, round about 1933.

It may come as a shock (if anybody can be shocked any more about anything) to most long-time readers of *The New Yorker* to learn that, all during its great and most influential years, it was not the chic, frivolous, godless, irresponsible humorous weekly that so many of us Moderns have always supposed it to be; but, rather, that throughout the Long Decade (1933-1945) *The New Yorker* was America's most serious, grave, and tradition-haunted periodical; our most decorous, old-fashioned, past-minded journal of opinion.

It was a piece in the July 15, 1939, issue of *The New Yorker*, by the late Russell Maloney (then on the staff of the magazine, and a frequent contributor of "casuals," parodies, etc.), that awoke one Modern, at least, from his *New Yorker* slumbers and, by a strange quirk of even stranger logic, caused the scales to fall from his eyes, revealing the magazine's Humanism in all its unashamed nakedness. The article was on Ernest Hemingway and Irving Babbitt, and bore the title "A Footnote to a Footnote." I may be wrong, of course; and I realize that I'm being unconscionably presumptuous; but I strongly suspect that the article originated in some such fashion as this:

## *Ross Tells Maloney*

One day, around the middle of June, 1939, Harold Ross, the Editor of *The New Yorker*, called Russell Maloney into his office, where the following monologue ensued:

"I suppose, Maloney, that you've read Hemingway's so-called short story, 'A Natural History of the Dead'? I went through it again last night, and, as was the case when I first read it in 1933, it sickened me. I always feel like taking a bath after finishing it. And usually do. I think it's about time we gave Hemingway another blasting. I also think it's about time that somebody in this lunatic country got around to having a kind word for Irving Babbitt. He was treated damned shabbily during his life, and he's been treated even more shabbily since his death. He was a great man, Maloney. You knew him, I believe. Had classes under him. . . . *Under* him, Maloney—under him, not with him. I think you're the one to do the sort of piece I have in mind.

"As you and a few others around here are aware, this magazine has been going all out for Humanism ever since Babbitt's death. It's something you're expected to sense, not have to be told. It isn't known outside the water-coolers, of course, and we don't want it known. With the world in its present ghastly state, and getting ghastlier by the hour, in another five years or so it won't matter a damn who knows what about whom. In the meantime, the fight for decency and humane standards and humane principles has got to go on. But the magazine has got to go on, too, Maloney. As you have probably already divined, I'm not thinking of the advertisers. Everybody knows what we think of them, including them. It's the subscribers. Most of them are—but let's not become nasty and profane, Maloney. We're slowly leading our bath-salts clientele toward something better, but they've never caught on to what we're up to, and probably never will. That's the Moderns for you Maloney.

"And how they'd resent it if they ever got wind of what we're doing to them. As for us on the magazine, to be a Humanist is one thing; to be known as one is something else again. It shouldn't be necessary to point out to you, Maloney, that Hemingway, even while yet an Eagle Scout in short pants, wasn't fit to carry Babbitt's old tennis racket. The Chest still wears short pants, and he *still* isn't, and, by God, never will be.

"So what I want you to do is drub hell out of old Swansdown. . . . You know I meant Piltdown, Maloney. Why must you always be interrupting me? And see that Irving Babbitt gets a little praise, for a change. He was too damned good for Harvard. He was too damned good for America. He was too damned good for this loused-up world we're living in. Babbitt flexed his mind. Hemingway flexes his muscles. You've heard of conceptualism, I presume? I don't know what it means, either. Probably a disease. And a pretty bad one. But biceptualism is a lot worse. It's Godawful. It's damn near ruined American literature. Nature



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Boy is Oak Park's gift to the Biceptualist movement. Whenever I read something of his, I immediately have a vision of Rousseau, the original Nature Boy. In my mind's eye, I can see old Jean-Jacques, looking a lot like Teddy Roosevelt in his lion-stalking playsuit, coming out of the Stork Club on all fours, in grim pursuit of an emaciated Moby Dick, last sighted following a garbage scow up the Harlem River. There, my valued contributor of unconsidered trifles, is a metaphor that *really* calls for blocking.

"Another thing, Maloney, remember to make a big point about Babbitt's death. How he died, I mean. It was ulcerative colitis, they tell me. Damned ugly business, and I hear he met his classes of Harvard punks right up to the last. A little different, Maloney, from being down with a summer cold, sniffling into your phony red bandana, and whimpering for another slug of Scotch, as if you were dying, Africa, dying. Grace under pressure, my foot, Maloney. What the hell's wrong with decorum or propriety or self-restraint? Grace under pressure. It's spinach, Maloney, and dude-ranch spinach at that.

"And I want you to make an even bigger point of the fact that Humanism is dead. You know where your Achilles' heel is, and so do I. This time, skip the clever monkey business, and play it straight, at least the Babbitt and Humanism part of it. If I sound as if I were talking to Wordsworth's idiot boy, I'm sorry, Maloney. I know, or at least I think I know, that you're not Thurber's dumb agricultural journalist, either. And I know—I hope—that you're planning to start off your piece, 'Who has noticed the picture of More and Babbitt over the desk of the Editor of *The New Yorker?*' But watch it, Maloney, watch it. In about ten days? All right. God bless you."

## *Hemingway's Footwork*

The resulting article was just what the Editor ordered. Maloney began by insisting that he didn't want anyone to think that he was disagreeing with Hemingway. Literary controversy at best, he declared, is a disagreeable thing; but worst of all is to disagree with Hemingway, because he works close, "like Belmonte, with none of the showy, meaningless footwork of Kid Chocolate, and you find yourself sprawled on the floor of the Stork Club, among the cigarette butts." And Maloney didn't want to end that way. What he had to say was merely by way of amplification.

Maloney then proceeded to quote the following passage from Hemingway's "A Natural History of the Dead": "So now I want to see the death of any self-called Humanist. Because a traveler like Mungo Park or me lives on and maybe yet will live to see the actual death of members of this literary sect and watch the noble exits that they make. In my musings as a naturalist it has occurred to me that while decorum is an excellent thing, some must be indecorous if the race is to be carried on since the position prescribed for procreation is indecorous, highly indecorous, and it occurred to me that perhaps that is what people are, or were: the children of decorous cohabitation. But regardless of how they started I hope to see the finish of a few."

After the word "Humanist," Maloney noted, Hemingway had placed an asterisk. The footnote says, "The reader's indulgence is requested for this mention of an extinct phenomenon. The reference, like all references to fashions, dates the story but it is retained because of its mild historical interest and because its omission would spoil the rhythm."

"Reading that piece," continued Maloney, "reminded me of Irving Babbitt, who was, I suppose, the leader of the Humanists in this country. Hemingway is right. Humanism is an utterly extinct phenomenon, but during my senior year at Harvard it was alive and flourishing. Almost everybody in the field of English Literature signed up for Professor Babbitt's course in Comparative Literature. One good reason for doing so, even if you weren't a Humanist, was to hear both sides of the oral feud between him and Professor John Livingston Lowes, who lectured on the Romantic poets and was himself an unabashed Romantic. I don't remember much about Professor Babbitt's lectures, except that there was a good deal of talk about self-restraint, decorum, and a principle of Aristotle's which Babbitt translated as 'the inner check.'"

"Occasionally," said Maloney, "we would go to hear Professor Babbitt's ten-o'clock lecture and find a handwritten notice on the lecture-hall door: 'I. Babbitt will be unable to meet his classes today.' The next time he would manage somehow to cram two lectures into one, shuffling a huge stack of books with place marks in them, reading hurriedly in English or French, always as if he were afraid there was not enough time to say what he had to say. The next summer he died, and that was the first we heard of his illness, which was ulcerative colitis. This, as I needn't point out to Hemingway, is a painful and messy end. My family doctor tells me that for a man to continue his work during its last stages is 'definitely heroic.'"

"Well," Maloney concluded, "Professor Babbitt is gone, and Humanism is forgotten, except for its incidental importance to the rhythm of Hemingway's prose. Even at this late date, however, it seems of some importance to report that I watched the death of a Humanist, and that he did die decorously. We live in an age when writing men speak bluntly, and decorum is relegated to footnotes. So now I want to see the death of any self-called literary tough guy. And I don't mean Ernest Hemingway, especially."

## *Strong Whiffs of Humanism*

For reasons which never have been, and probably never will be, clear to me, my suspicions were immediately aroused by Maloney's article. I knew as well as the next Modern that Humanism was officially dead and buried, and had been for ages. Even so, I began to be plagued by the queer feeling that for the last five or six years (1933-1939) I had frequently been encountering, some place, strong whiffs of pure Humanistic doctrine. But where? For the life of me, I hadn't the slightest idea—no tangible clues, not even a theory.

I was positive that I hadn't been coming across any marked Humanistic notions in the books I had been reading. As for the magazines, the *Nation* and the *New Republic* were, of course, above suspicion. *Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly* had long since passed out of their Agnes Repplier and Albert Jay Nock phases, and were as Modern, as up-to-date and topical as day-after-tomorrow's plastics. And though one often ran into the names of More and Babbitt in the intellectual quarterlies, the



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references to them there were almost invariably hostile or contemptuous.

So where? After a maddening week of brooding and woolgathering and memory-jogging, one evening in sheer desperation, not unmixed with perversity, I crawled up into the attic and started thumbing through my old files of *The New Yorker*. When I came back down about five hours later, I was a physical wreck, but fairly rational once more. For the first time in days, peace attended me and serenity sat upon my brow. The source of the infection had at last been found. And nothing much remained to do, except chart Humanism's anything but incidental importance to the rhythm of E. B. White's prose—along with a few other matters of incidental importance to the continuing ascendancy of Modern folkways.

*(To be followed.)*

# The Irresponsibles

RODNEY GILBERT

Not many Americans, probably, were either pleased or sorry to learn that in the second week of September 1955 the World Federation of United Nations Associations held its tenth annual "plenary assembly" in Bangkok, Thailand. A few may have been mildly interested in the fact that among the 33 national associations there represented was the United States Association for the United Nations.

Dr. Charles W. Mayo is president of this organization, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is chairman of its board, and Mr. Clark Eichelberger its executive director. The considerable sums which it takes in and spends are tax-exempt; which means that in considerable measure it is supported by the whole American people, and so might be expected to feel a moral obligation to take the nation's best interest into account. Americans, therefore, have a more than casual interest in the Association's behavior at the Bangkok sessions, and many of them would hardly agree that it was in the interests of this country. For the "plenary assembly" adopted *unanimously* a resolution favoring Red China's admission to the United Nations. Moreover, for the sixth consecutive year Free China's Association for the UN had been excluded from the gathering.

At this Bangkok meeting the World Federation "recalled and confirmed" a resolution adopted in 1953 and 1954. In 1953 it was resolved that the Federation ". . . considers that, in order to enable the UN in future to fulfil efficiently its role in maintaining peace in Asia, China should be represented in the organization by its effective government [and] looks forward to the early establishment of a state of affairs which would, in conformity with the Charter, ensure this representation and thus permit the solution of the chief problems of Asia."

## *They Got the Drift*

In 1954 this hope was reaffirmed, and the further hope was recorded that "the situation mentioned therein will shortly arise so as to enable the government of the People's Republic of China to take its seat in the United Nations." At this last meeting the Federation "trusted" that "in the happier atmosphere of September 1955" these previously expressed hopes "may now be near fulfilment."

Since the resolution expressing this "trust" was adopted unanimously, it is evident that the representatives of the United States Association for the UN neither voted against it nor abstained; and anyone who charitably assumed that they did not get its drift when they approved it, would be wrong. On October 22, 1955, the office of the Association in New York City gave out a policy-statement for publication in the name of the Association's directors. This statement, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, which paraphrased some of it, favored admission of Communist China to the UN when "conditions will be brought about . . . so that it will be possible," and then went on to say: "The seat is occupied in the name of China by the representatives of a government in exile. So long as the Peiping government is outside of the UN many important questions to be resolved in the Pacific must seemingly be dealt with outside of the UN."

## *Free China Excluded*

Now, what about the Chinese Association for the United Nations, with headquarters in Taipei, Formosa? It was informed in 1950 that its representatives would not be welcome at the World Federation's "plenary assembly" at Geneva that year, and every year since then it has been told to keep its distance. It is not a new organization. Like many of the others, it is an old League-of-Nations association which automatically changed its name in 1945. Its president, Dr. Chu Chia-hua, is a highly respected scholar who has been president of two Chinese universities, has held three Cabinet posts and has been a provincial governor. Still more to the point, in 1946 he became Honorary President of this same World Federation which now puts its taboo on him and his association. In 1950, there was an explanation of this taboo which, whether good or bad, was at least publishable: since "the situation in China is far from stable and the representation of China in the United Nations has not yet been decided, the Federation's Executive Committee has therefore decided to postpone any decision concerning Chinese representation in the World Federation of United Nations Associations pending clarification."

Early in 1950, the kind of representation that China was to have in the UN was indeed in some doubt. Great Britain recognized Red China on January 6 of that year; and it was hoped by some, and feared by many, that the Truman-Marshall-Acheson policy-making team was ready to follow suit. But the Red invasion of the Republic of Korea at the end of June clarified the situation quite a bit. And the United Nations' denunciation of the Mao Tse-tung regime's "aggression" in Korea should have made it crystal clear to any organization dedicated to the aggrandizement of the UN's prestige and authority that the



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outlawed "People's Government" could not be seated in that body until the criminal charge against it had been formally withdrawn. It was therefore clear enough in February 1951 that the seat of the Republic of China was indefinitely secure. Yet the WFUNA still refuses to let the Chinese Association participate in its "plenary assemblies" and, so far as published records go, the United States Association takes no exception to this arbitrary stand but joins in the yearly expression of the WFUNA's hope and trust that Red China will soon be admitted to the United Nations.

### *Soviet Satellites Welcomed*

Among the Associations represented at Bangkok, listed by the WFUNA as "regular members," were those of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Japan and Rumania. (The last was admitted to full and regular membership at the September session by unanimous vote.) None of these delegations came from a country that had been admitted to the UN. A glance at the official list of 67 regular and associate members, as published by the WFUNA, makes it clear that an Association from a nation that has not the slightest chance of being admitted to the UN may nevertheless be a member of the WFUNA. On that list, for example, are the Cameroons, Eastern and Western Togoland, Jamaica, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia and Zanzibar, plus the crown colonies of Hong Kong and Singapore.

Obviously Free China's Association is excluded because resolutions in support of Red China submitted to these "plenary assemblies" would not be adopted unanimously if there were Free Chinese delegates present. Indeed they would not be passed at all without the kind of ruction that would give the WFUNA embarrassing publicity.

The U. S. Association for the UN owes it to its contributors to do one of two things. Either it should demand representation of the Free Chinese Association in the WFUNA, and itself withdraw if the demand is rejected. Or the U. S. Association, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and all, should openly tell the American people what they are surreptitiously endorsing abroad, namely: the admission of Red China to the UN.

# ON THE LEFT . . . C. B. R.

**Fishing in Troubled Waters.** Communists are trying to make Red capital out of the farm crisis. The National Farm Commission of the Communist Party, USA, has published its decision in a pamphlet titled "The Farm Crisis," which presents some novel methods of solution, namely: 1) "We have no business in China or Indo-China or Korea." 2) "The danger of McCarthyism—fascism—can be defeated when workers, farmers, and others, realize that Communism is not the issue today or in the near future, and resist all efforts to curb democratic liberties." 3) "Production payments . . . to guarantee at least 100 per cent parity on all farm commodities"—a direct road to financial bankruptcy. 4) "Democratically-elected farmer committees"—no doubt on the order of Soviet democracy. 5) "the abolition of all Congressional witch-hunt committees." 6) Repeal of "the Smith Act, McCarran Act, the Communist Control Act, and the McCarran-Walter Act." 7) "Trade between West and East in farm products."

The Party is now mobilizing its forces in the agricultural areas. A new Iowa unit of the National Farmers Union was recently established in Des Moines under Fred W. Stover, president. This chapter had been kicked out of the National Farmers Union in 1954. Archie Wright of the Farmers Union of New York has appeared before the Senate Agricultural Committee. He was a speaker at the Communist Party convention held at the St. Nicholas Arena in New York City beginning June 24, 1936. The three-day convention of the Michigan Farmers Union, held at Scottville, has demanded repeal of the Smith Act and the McCarran-Walter immigration law.

**Distinguished Guest.** As a rule, Soviet Embassy officials are under strict orders to avoid public contacts with outstanding members of the American Communist Party. Washington society was somewhat shocked, therefore, by the presence of Victor Perlo at the thirty-eighth anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution, held in the swank Embassy on Sixteenth Street. Perlo, it will be remembered, was cited in sworn testimony as the head of an underground group of the Communist Party within the government in the days of the New Deal. In the midst of the festivities Perlo fainted and was carried downstairs in the elevator. We do not know whether the line or the vodka did the trick.

**Johns Hopkins.** Before the alumni association of Johns Hopkins University recently, Dr. George Boas of the university philosophy faculty, declared that the presence of a Communist on a U.S. college faculty is a healthy sign of academic freedom. Was this the philosophy which persuaded the university to reinstate Owen Lattimore?

**For the Defense.** Gerhard P. Van Arkel, Washington attorney and member of the national board of Americans for Democratic Action, is acting as defense counsel together with Leonard Boudin in behalf of Harvey O'Connor, who invoked the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions about his Communist Party membership before the Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations. O'Connor was endorsed as a candidate for Traction Commissioner in Pittsburgh in 1936 by the Communist Party. He is being tried for contempt before District Court Judge Joseph McGarraghy in Washington, D.C. Closely associated with Van Arkel as chairman of ADA is Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., who will be remembered as counsel for William W. Remington, convicted for perjury for false testimony to a grand jury regarding his Communist affiliations.

Such ADA stalwarts as Aubrey Williams are prominent on the list of 360 signers of the *amici curiae* motion and brief in behalf of the case of the *Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, to declare the McCarran (anti-subversive) Act unconstitutional. Finally, it should be noted that the ADA has carried on for some time a campaign for the repeal of the Smith Act, under which a number of Communist leaders have been prosecuted.



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Virginia

# *Tidewater State Leads South in Seeking Way Out of Desegregation Crisis*

SAM M. JONES

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court dropped the segregation decision on the *mores* of the South with the impact of a million blockbusters. But when the shock had passed and the white citizens contemplated the effects, they found little perceptible change. By an unorganized common consent, passive resistance and non-acceptance had become the order of the day. The decrees contemplated a more or less lengthy period of adjustment before compliance became mandatory, and after a flurry of emergency planning had subsided, most of the South took a *mañana* attitude toward the solution of the conflict between the law and public opinion.

During the past year and a half more than a dozen determined anti-integration organizations have sprung up in the Southern states, while the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has waged an equally vigorous campaign of litigation and publicity to end segregation. The net result has been stalemate with a visibly crystallizing white sentiment against enforced mixing of the races in schools.

As she has done so often in her historic past, Virginia is providing the leadership in seeking a way out of this embittered socio-legal crisis which affects not only the South but indirectly the entire nation. Some fourteen months ago the state created a Commission on Public Education, popularly known as the Gray Commission. In accordance with the Commission's findings, and the nearly unanimous approval of the General Assembly, the voters of Virginia will go to the polls on January 9 in a referendum on the question of calling a Constitutional Convention to amend Section 141 of the State Constitution, which prohibits the use of State or local funds for private schooling.

In a recent interview in Winchester, where he edits the *Evening Star*, State Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. said that the Commission "does not seek to prevent integration in those localities where the governing bodies favor integration. But it does," he continued, "seek legal means to preserve, to some extent at least, segregation where such sentiment on the part of the people is overwhelming and determined."

The procedure involved in interpreting the recommendations into an operating program are somewhat complex and there is considerable misinformation in circulation concerning the purpose and effect of the pending referendum. It is simply a "yes" or "no" vote on the sole question of calling a Constitutional Convention to amend Section 141. If the Convention is authorized by the voters, this procedure will ensue:

1. The General Assembly, which meets in regular session January 11, will pass a bill authorizing the election of delegates and setting an election date probably in February.

2. The delegates will meet in two weeks or less thereafter and on a majority vote proclaim the necessary changes in Section 141.

3. It is estimated that the amending of the Constitution will be completed around the first of March, coincident with the closing days of the regular session of the Assembly.

4. The Assembly will then adjourn and reconvene or meet in Special Session to implement the Commission's program with legislation.

5. The passage of three major provisions is anticipated: a pupil assignment plan; a plan for tuition grants; and modification of the Compulsory Education Law so that no child, white or Negro, will be compelled to attend an integrated school. Local school boards would be empowered to direct pupils to attend specified schools and/or provide tuition funds for pupils—white or Negro—who petition for grants to enable them to obtain an education in private, non-sectarian schools. Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., believes that the legislation can be enacted by early April.

The fate of the entire program is, of course, dependent on the outcome of the referendum. In my survey, I found a strong general belief that the referendum will be approved by a very considerable majority but there are certain factors which might conceivably reduce the anticipated margin in favor of the Constitutional Convention. A material number of white residents in the counties bordering Washington are organized against the referendum. Negro registration has been very heavy. But more important perhaps than either of these is the fact that Virginia is divided population-wise into three parts. West of the Blue Ridge the Negro population is negligible, and integration is not a serious problem. In the central part of the state the whites constitute 60 to 65 per cent of the total population but the proportion in terms of school enrollment is much lower. In the eastern and Tidewater region the Negroes outnumber the whites, and in some counties there are more than three colored children for every white child of school age.

Although the voters in the western and southwestern counties may be untouched personally by the problems of integration-segregation, there is every indication that they will support the view of those in the counties where Negroes are an important segment of the population.

Unquestionably the contemplated laws will be subject to court tests, but the effort is a conscious and conscientious move to provide a compromise under which both races can live with minimum friction. It may be that Virginia has found the pattern for the South.

In Virginia, as elsewhere in the South, the Eisenhower Republican Administration is generally held responsible for what the majority of the white electorate describes as the "desegregation mess." The President's once great popularity has unquestionably declined, but it has by no means fallen to the nadir reserved for another remotely possible Republican nominee. Commenting on the oft-repeated speculation that Chief Justice Warren may be drafted, a Virginian remarked: "In this state Mr. Warren wouldn't *run*; he wouldn't even walk!"



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# THE WORLD VIEWS THE US

FREDA UTLEY

*British Comments on American Politics*

To say that there are definite signs of a reversal of positions between Britain and the United States concerning Western policy toward Russia would be going too far. But the reactions in the British press to the fiasco of the Geneva Conference seem to have been stronger than in America. Perhaps this is due mainly to the originally greater expectations in Europe. In any case it is strange to find a correspondent of the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* stating that "the spirit of Geneva, credited to President Eisenhower, threatens to be as general and possibly as dangerous as the wartime spirit of Teheran"; and also commenting with dismay upon the false hopes in America of a change in Soviet policy, or of the USSR "going democratic."

D. W. Brogan, the Oxford Don whose books about America are popular on both sides of the Atlantic, is now among us, and in his report from which I have just quoted, he goes on to make the following surprising but very possibly correct prediction about next year's election campaign:

> It is not impossible that the next campaign will be fought by the Democrats on the issue that you can't trust the Republicans to see through the Reds. "We were sold down the river once but we won't be tricked again." The Republicans will be cast as the farmer's daughter ready to be victimized by the Russian travelling salesman. The Democrats will probably admit that they were tricked once, but that their dearly bought experience is at the service of the American people. We shall have seen everything by the end of next year's campaign.

The same idea came to me last summer when Governor Harriman spoke out sharply against the illusion that the Summit Conference had achieved any good. Since then there have been rumors that DeSapio and some other smart politicians want the Democratic Party to pursue precisely the line indicated by Mr. Brogan. It would indeed be logical since the Democrats cannot hope to outdo the Republicans in their readiness to meet the Kremlin "halfway." And since the Administration claims credit for the Spirit of Geneva it could also be made to bear the blame for its having resulted in Moscow concluding, in the words of the London *Economist*, "that the Cold War can safely be intensified," because America has "no present intention and little present will for hydrogen war." Hence the Middle Eastern crisis.

The two Republican camps can take comfort from the fact that the Democratic Party, as the British see it, is also split between the "peaceful coexistence" followers of Stevenson and the Harrimanites. For instance, the rose-hued *New Statesman and Nation* sees Harriman as a "Fair Dealer" who would "take a tough line in foreign affairs," and Stevenson as "more conservative in home politics" and much more "flexible" in his attitude to world affairs; and goes on to say:

> While many Democrats have been toying with the idea of attacking the Republicans for "appeasement"—and Catholic anti-Communism carries weight both in the Unions and in Democratic organizations in the cities—Stevenson has joined Senator George in supporting Eisenhower's "Geneva line." Stevenson's strength comes, ironically enough, from the same social stratum that gave Eisenhower his great personal majority in 1952, yet refused to elect a diehard Republican Congress from the independent middle class.

It is also interesting to find the *New Statesman and Nation* reporting that the faction in the Republican Party which American columnists like to call "Liberal," is "dominated by the bankers and industrialists concerned in foreign trade," who backed Dewey and Eisenhower; who "dislike the alliance of Midwesterners and 'radical' anti-Communists"; and "broke McCarthy when he stopped attacking the Democrats and began to attack them in a factional bid for power." Nixon, it goes on to say, is distrusted by the "coastal Republicans" because they believe "his real sympathies lie with the Midwesterners and the 'radicals'"; and because it is feared he could not win the "peace vote" on account of his commitment to a "crude anti-Communist policy."

In another issue of the *New Statesman and Nation*, the "Midwest extremist alliance" is represented as undecided whether to write off Nixon or to "regard him as the under-cover man through whom they could at last take over the party from the internationalists." If they decide on the latter course, says this very anti-Nixon, pinko, but intelligent British weekly, they must be careful not to give him "the kiss of death" by campaigning for him. However, Nixon's prospects, it concludes, "depend upon his success in convincing the Eisenhower-Dewey faction that he is a genuine member of the club." Otherwise either Dewey or Warren "may be put up to stop him."

The generally conservative London *Economist*, which in my opinion is the best informed weekly journal in the Western world, also sees Stevenson as the Democratic candidate "who least offends the South"; and who "attracts the liberals by his intellectuality and the conservatives by the moderation of his views." It also refers to the "world's profound thankfulness" to him for his protests against Dulles' *former* foreign policy of "menace by slogan." Harriman, in the *Economist's* opinion, suffers from his reliance on a "full-blooded New Dealism" which "puts him out of key with the present era of good feeling."

## *Italy*

Arthur Bliss Lane, our former Ambassador to Poland, who resigned when Dean Acheson gave a big loan to its Communist government, told me in an interview on his return from a visit to Italy, that since the Summit Conference "NATO is finished" there. "The man in the street," he said, "is now saying, 'How can we believe America is serious about NATO, since the U. S. President has been pictured as smiling in friendly amity with the leaders of the Communist world?'" "In France as in Italy, which was a far more reliable, and economically and politically stronger ally, we have," said Mr. Lane, "undermined our friends by making the Communist Parties respectable."



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# ARTS and MANNERS

You'd never guess it, but there was a time—long ago and far away, I confess—when my grammar was flawless. Not only could I parse a complex sentence perfectly, but I could decline a Latin noun and conjugate the most irregular of Attic Greek verbs with ease. I never confused the ablative case with the dative, and the wind didn't have to be southerly for me to distinguish between the aorist and the pluperfect.

Today, as I need not remind any reader of these dispatches, I can barely tell the subjunctive from the indicative; and such fan mail as I get points out that I used "will" for "shall," and "should" for "would." I suspect that my seventh grade teacher, a Mr. Duke, has long since gone to his reward; otherwise I would have received a sharp note from him. (Or should that last "would" be "should"?)

I plead guilty and throw myself on the mercy of the court. But I believe—what defendant doesn't?—that there are extenuating circumstances in my case. For a good many years I have made my living by writing dialogues: and the first thing the budding playwright learns is that his conversation must not be stilted. You remember that your words are to be spoken—not read—and you keep your ears open, listen to the way people talk, and try to have your characters talk in the same way. After a while, you play almost entirely by ear.

I am, in short, the product of my environment. Had I lived in Elizabethan times, my shows might not have been any better but at least they would have been done in iambic pentameter. Can I help it if I live in a grammarless era? The fault is society's, not mine. Let him who never said "who" when he should have said "whom" cast the first stone.

And yet, part of Mr. Duke's precepts remain with me—as I realized tonight when I turned on the TV for the ten o'clock news. First came a commercial, extolling the virtues of a certain cigarette "which tastes good, *like* a cigarette should." Now I have sinned grievously against the laws of syntax, but I would sooner be found endorsing Clifford Case for public office than be caught using "like" as a conjunction instead of a preposition. I uttered an involuntary "No!", and I distinctly heard Mr. Duke roll over. I pledged him I would never smoke *that* cigarette.

Then came the commentator. He began to talk of Goa, which, he said, "is of vital importance to *we* Americans." At that, I rolled over. I turned off the set and the commentator. That much respect for the King's English I still retain.

The President's English—alas!—is something else again. When Ike, on his return to the Capitol, thanked the cheering crowd for coming down to the airport "to welcome Mrs. Eisenhower and I," there must have been some purists in the crowd whose joy was suddenly dulled. Don't they teach English at West Point?

It is no wonder that teachers have been aroused and have written complaining letters to the press. "Johnny," one can hear the schoolmarm say, "you know what will happen to you if you don't learn your grammar?" "Sure," the youngster will reply, "I'll get to be President." I don't care *what* the teacher says: the kid who grows up hearing that cigarette slogan dinned into his ears (and sometimes you get it as often as three times during a half-hour program) may never smoke anything stronger than cubebs, but you'll never convince him "like" is not a conjunction. Of the two evils, I'd rather have him take to nicotine.

Day by day, in every way, the situation worsens, and what do the PTA and similar groups do about it? They keep accusing the TV advertisers of contributing to juvenile delinquency—which is sheer nonsense. (It was the dime novel in my day.) But dime novel or TV, the bad man always gets captured, and right always triumphs. What the TV sponsors are guilty of—and what is the Ford Foundation doing about it, by the way?—is the denigration of the English language. The commentator who speaks on subjects vital "to we Americans" has an excellent voice, and his rewards are many. The TV boys and girls who tell us about that aforementioned cigarette are all decorative and well paid, even if they don't know their *as* from their *like*. To the audience they represent all the virtues of Clean Living and Success. Anybody who opposes them is, obviously, against the forces of right and the standards of America. What chance has a purist?

And now, having presented the problem, I'd like to offer a solution. There is one man in this country whose diction and grammar are faultless. He is being groomed at this moment for a job he is completely unequipped for: his well-meaning but dumb admirers hope to make him President of the United States. You would get, in that remote contingency, a well-worded message each year on the State of the Union, a message that would be hailed by all our allies—including India and Red China—for its lyric beauty and its promise of bigger and better foreign loans: the State of the Union itself, obviously, would not be as beautiful as the message.

But suppose Adlai were the man who did the TV commercials. When he got through extolling the virtues of each product (he could use a toupee when he praised the shampoos that save your hair), the American people would go on a buying spree that would make even the current boom seem like the depression of the thirties. We would be not only the richest and the most powerful nation on earth: we would be the most grammatical.

And let there be no worries about the conflict of interest. The man who could tell you convincingly that the farm problem had no easy solution, and in the next speech come out righteously and indignantly for 90 per cent of parity, the man who could plead eloquently for the Administration to go to Geneva and then denounce it for having gone—that man would have no trouble demonstrating at six o'clock that Chrysler made the best car, and at seven proving to you that, if you didn't own a Studebaker, you were a lost soul. The promised golden era would be here: there would be *at least* two cars in every garage.

And we'd all smoke our heads off. We'd buy a carton of Camels at eight, a carton of Old Golds at nine, and at ten even I—having been assured that they tasted good *as* a cigarette should—would relent and get at least a pack of Winstons.

MORRIE RYSKIND



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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## Acheson Looks at Acheson

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Dean Acheson has the annoying habit of never giving up. This was true during his tenure as Secretary of State, when he prolonged the agony for almost four years. And now he inflicts a book on the American people in general, and, in particular—since this magazine's regular book reviewers didn't want to relive bad dreams—on me.

The first thing to learn about Acheson's book is not to be misled by its title. Even Acheson has no stomach for a whole book devoted to looking at the Democrat Party. The function of *A Democrat Looks at His Party* (Harper & Bros., 199 pp., $3.00) is to stimulate wider sales than might be expected for a book called "Acheson Looks at Acheson." He finishes the Democrat part about one-quarter of the way through.

Acheson wants two things: a) personal vindication, and b) to make an apology. Fifty-five wearisome, repetitious pages are devoted to congratulating himself on his own foreign policy and to complaining that, while the Eisenhower Administration has followed practically the same policy, it has nonetheless spoiled his magnificent creation by not spending enough money to keep it from collapsing.

The apology he wants to make—and you can tell he has been literally tortured with guilt—is for the way he dealt with the Communists-in-government problem.

Perhaps I didn't put that last point too well. Acheson does *not* apologize for his dereliction of duty in refusing to enforce the government program for rooting out subversives. He is sorry it ever came into existence! He wants to apologize because in a moment of weakness he succumbed to that "strong and vibrant personality" (Harry Truman) and instituted a security system. "I was an officer of that Administration and share with it the responsibility for what I am now convinced was a grave mistake and a failure to foresee consequences which were inevitable. That responsibility cannot be escaped or obscured"!

Acheson actually punishes himself more than he deserves. He may have fallen down on the job when he let Truman issue his executive order, but he quickly picked himself up again. He saw to it, during the first three years of the program, that no State Department employees were fired as loyalty risks, and only two as security risks—one of them an anti-Soviet Trotskyist! (Those were the years when the State Department was infested with the likes of William Stone, Hans Lansberg, Oliver Clubb, Edward Posniak, Haldore Hanson, Esther Brunauer, John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies, etc.) After 1950, of course, things got a little out of hand, but who would blame *him* for that?

So much, for the moment, for the main theses. Let's return now to pick up the first part of the book wherein a Democrat tells us about his party. This is not the kind of waste you might expect, for Acheson's real accomplishment in these early pages is to tell us about himself.

Our man beats around the bush for a while but by page 47 he is observing that the Democrat Party (and *only* the Democrat Party) appreciates the "necessity" for the federal government "to manage the thrust of forces [he means manage economic and social activity] in the interest of human values. *Now,*" says Acheson, *"to carry out a function of this sort requires knowledge, perceptiveness, imagination—in other words, brains. . . . So the Democratic party is hospitable to and attracts intellectuals."*

Let's not dwell on whether the Democrat Party really attracts intellectuals—or, if so, on whether they are worth attracting—for we might miss the answer Acheson is finally providing to the question he poses in his prologue, namely: "Why am I a Democrat?" His answer: The Democrat Party attracts brains. It got me, therefore—well, you see the point. The rest of the section is devoted to a number of reasons why the Democrat Party looks good to one who has brains.

1. The Democrat Party writes constitutions. As "Brains" Acheson sees it, "the history of the [Democrat] party is the history of America's unwritten constitution, of the powers of the federal government, of the nature and authority of the Presidential office and its relation to the legislative and judicial powers." Nothing particularly wrong with that statement, except that one would have expected the accusation that the Democrats circumvent the Constitution to be levelled by a Republican, not a Democrat. It sounds a little strange coming from a man who took an oath to defend a Constitution that is already on the books.

2. The Democrat Party treats the government and its Executive branch, wherever possible, as one and the same thing. What disappoints Ache-



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son most about our *written* Constitution is that it provided for a legislature. And what he likes most about the Democrat "creators" of the unwritten Constitution is that they have very nearly corrected the mistake. How much progress has been made is indicated by Brains' observation that Republicans who supported the Bricker Amendment (an attempt, whatever you think of it, to keep the Executive branch operating within the limits of the Constitution) were "assaulting" "government itself"!

Herein, says Acheson, lies the tragedy of the Republican Party. Bound by its stodgy theory of the "Constitutional Executive," it has "no sense of adventure, of the drama or the gaiety of the democratic march."

I would observe, though, that some Republicans are *getting* the sense of it. Thanks to the White House wing of my own party, the history of Executive invasions of congressional rights—for example, its insistence on making foreign policy its own show, and on keeping an iron curtain of secrecy around any of its activities that it feels Congress may disapprove of—is not entirely a Democrat history.

3. The Democrat Party thought up the New Deal. Herbert Hoover was one of those who cheated himself of "adventure" and "gaiety." "Government, as Mr. Hoover saw it, had a limited function." But "The New Deal was under no such self-imposed limitations. After the new President had said . . . that the only thing we had to fear is fear itself, he proceeded to act [i.e., spend and collectivize] on every front with imagination, vigor and courage." Of course, Roosevelt's program needed not only brains but enough moral callousness to permit the repudiation of just about every plank of the platform on which Mr. Roosevelt was elected.

4. The Democrat Party can accommodate *everybody*. The Democrat Party, unlike the Republican, which "centers on the dominant interests of the business community," is a "party of many interests." And one of the marvels that brains can accomplish is to forge admittedly conflicting points of view into a coherent party platform: "For all the apparent contradiction in the fact that the Southern racist belongs to the same political party as the New York supporter of the FEPC, the *inner logic* which holds them together is that each speaks for the dispossessed, whether in his rural or urban form." It takes brains, all right, to come through with this one.

5. The Democrat Party is basically conservative. What must be "stressed," Acheson says, is the "underlying conservatism of the New Deal." Just in case this doesn't jibe with what you have heard stressed about the New Deal, Brains explains: ". . . by and large the New Deal was a clinic in the use of innovation to conserve and strengthen fundamental institutions. The subsequent history of its principal measures, I believe, shows that this is true. Despite years of vitriolic attack on the New Deal . . . its measures survive. . . ." I suppose this argument has an "inner logic," too, but on the face of it, it says that the Communist Revolution in Russia was "conservative" because "its measures survive."

When he has finished demonstrating the value of brains, Acheson is prepared to defend his foreign policy. It's the brains feature of his regime that he is proudest of and wants to talk most about—rather than, say, its specific accomplishments. Obviously it's embarrassing to dwell on accomplishments when you have a complete and disastrous failure on your hands—unless you want to claim that a policy that lost 400 million human beings, the diplomatic initiative and a war to the Communists was a *success*, in which case you raise the question of what team you were playing on. He would rather stick to his theme about brains.

Acheson first tells us about the brand new problem this country was confronted with shortly before he took office. "The Soviet Union, following Stalin's speech of February, 1946, *adopted* a policy independent of and hostile to the interests of its former allies." Now, ability to deal with this abrupt, perplexing about-face in Communist policy required—you guessed it: brains. And Acheson's main argument through his foreign policy section is that he bossed "an Administration which overflowed with ideas." Good ones, bad ones?—well, good ones, presumably, but Acheson doesn't insist on the point. This might, after all, end us up discussing John Stewart Service's ideas, John Carter Vincent's ideas, Owen Lattimore's ideas, and so on. And Acheson, as I say, doesn't want to get over onto that discussion.

Brains' cruelest swipe at the Eisenhower Administration is also on the brains theme: with Ike in office, he says, "the stream of ideas, of imaginative thinking, had dried up." But on a second look, there is more plain nastiness in this statement than criticism. Another way of saying the same thing is that the Eisenhower Administration simply adopted the "ideas" and the "thinking" of the Acheson crew.

As it moved on to the security issue, I had the feeling that this razor-sharp mind was, consciously, in real trouble, and had been for some time. This is roughly how Acheson's conversation with himself must have gone: Is it altogether logical and altogether sensible to construct an expensive security program for detecting and getting rid of Communist suspects, and then proceed [as Acheson did during the first part of his regime] to simply ignore the threat of Communist infiltration?

No—Brains tells itself—that is neither logical nor sensible. Having a security system implies using it, and not using it seems to imply . . . [By Jove, Brains, *now* you're talking! Let's scotch the whole ruddy thing.] This solution has an inner logic, and besides, it figures with what I felt all along about the so-called threat from the Communists and how to deal with that threat [Brains tells itself].

Acheson spins out the familiar theory: The only real threat is from "spies" and "saboteurs." But, he reminds us, "Spies and saboteurs are uncovered and apprehended by detective work called counter-espionage. To convict and punish them requires a trial court in which the accused is confronted by all the witnesses against him. Secret evidence is no help here." Therefore, why have a security system?

In other words, we're out of luck unless our man turns up at Oak Ridge with a bottle of nitroglycerin and offers his Party Card for identification purposes. And in that case, we may turn him over to the Courts (though, presumably, not to the Court that turned its back on Alger Hiss).

All right. But does that mean we should have no security program? What if the evidence we have is secret evidence, or public evidence that is



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insufficient to convict our man of a crime, but more than sufficient to convince us we don't want to trust him with H-bomb secrets? Too bad, says Acheson, you've got to leave him have the H-bomb secrets. And just in case such reasoning fails to convince, he pulls brains on us again: "I doubt whether any *informed* person would seek to justify the employee security programs as a means of catching spies and saboteurs."

As for the Red who is not of the "spy" or "saboteur" type but whose mission is to influence and, where possible, *make* policy—this fellow is not even mentioned by Acheson. The omission implies that, for all Brains cares, he may go right on whispering sweet Communist nothings into the ears of Secretaries of State.

Many people will think this book is outrageous, but I think its foolishness saves it from being that. A pathetic gesture by a discredited statesman who wants to prove he is still around, and still using those brains of his. For the worst Secretary of State in American history, it is only a minor failure.

## Light on a Dark Subject

**Dynamite in the Middle East,** by Khalil Totah. 240 pp. New York: Philosophical Library. $3.75

This book is more restrained than its title might imply, in sharp contrast to most other writing on the subject. Its author (who died while it was in press) was an Arab Christian who was born near Jerusalem, attended school in the U. S., and resided here for many years. He spent most of his life, however, in Palestine; and his book is mainly a first-hand report on the impact of Israel upon Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Jordan. Thus he presents a much-needed "other side" of a situation which is as complex as it is explosive.

Though no Arab apologist, Dr. Totah does write sympathetically about certain problems of the Arab nations: their poverty, for example, and the incidence of disease and corruption. He states that "Glubb Pasha is Britain's ruler in Jordan," that the Iraq government is pro-British, and that, unlike the other Arab states, Iraq fears Russia as much as Israel. But the burden of his report is that the establishment of Israel and the support it has received from abroad have caused the Arab peoples to become "frustrated and disillusioned with America, the United Nations and Western democracies"—with among others, the result that Soviet influence and Communism have grown apace.

It should have been obvious before the fact, as it now is after the fact, that Russia's vote in the UN (1947) in favor of the establishment of Israel reflected an immediate intention to play the Jews against the Arabs and a long-range intention to play the Arabs against the Jews. Russia thus created an ideal situation, of indefinite duration, for its own machinations, inter alia because it could be assumed the U. S. would be bound to support Israel. But the Arabs, Dr. Totah found, completely ignore Russia's share in the founding of Israel. Like many more "advanced" peoples, they are quite oblivious of the past, and react only to current events.

Currently the Arabs believe that it is "the U. S. which made and makes Israel possible"; and that "the U. S., under Zionist pressure, is endeavoring to bribe or buy the Arabs" to forget about Palestine and conclude peace treaties with Israel. Anti-American feeling, he reports, is rampant everywhere, and manifests itself in divers ways: for example, in a wide popular sale of a book entitled *U. S. A.: The Land of Counterfeit Liberties,* and in a general harkening to the Voice of Moscow.

Any to whom this reaction seems irrational may find the following analogy instructive: An Indian professor some years ago asked one of his students why he was a Communist, and received the reply, "Just to spite the British." Also, if Dr. Totah is to be believed, those in the Middle East who sympathize with Communism "do so out of anger and exasperation with America," because of our pro-Israeli policy. This may not be the whole story, but it is undoubtedly a big part of it.

There is also the matter of nearly a million expellees from Palestine, about which Dr. Totah writes at some length, and not always dispassionately (for example when he speaks of Zionist ruthlessness toward Arab refugees and blames it on the Jews' experience of "Nazi heartlessness"). He visited the refugees in their camps and found them as bitter against the Arab governments as against the UN. There is "one thing they want," namely, "to return to their homes in Palestine." But he adds that the Israeli "rightly fear the Arabs will never be loyal to the Jewish state," and recognizes that few nations have shown much tolerance to minorities whose allegiance is to some foreign government or "ism."

WILBUR BURTON

## Blow to Optimists

**James Joyce and the Common Reader,** by William Powell Jones. 168 pp. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. $3.00

When I was a boy, a copy of *Ulysses* was still a potent talisman: put unopened on a conspicuous shelf, it sufficed to give a man status in the Intelligentsia. This new analysis of Joyce's writings, by far the most lucid, learned and reasonable that I have seen, may do something to revive the fashion. It is written with an enthusiastic admiration that is calculated to compel its readers to find and open their copies of the once novel novels. Mr. Jones, indeed, goes so far as to assure us that *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake* are "the picture of universal modern man." This news, if true, will be a blow to all who hope that mankind either has or deserves to have a future. R. P. O.

## Poet and Physicist Overture

**The Open Mind,** by J. Robert Oppenheimer. 146 pp. New York: Simon and Schuster. $2.75

A typical Oppenheimer fan—say a "responsible" journalist—will not read this book. What could he, from reading a book by J. Robert Oppenheimer called *The Open Mind,* possibly learn that he doesn't already know from the title and the identity of the author? Here he cannot have an open mind. He can only admire.

In a way that is right. Any book by Robert Oppenheimer is important, because he is important. But the rea-



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son to read him—carefully—is less to learn *from* him than to learn *about* him. Robert Oppenheimer dominated the atomic policy of this country for a decade, during which the country lost relative international advantage, but at the same time avoided final catastrophe. Was Oppenheimer responsible for either, neither, or both of these results? You cannot answer that question just by reading the eight lectures which, given from May 1946 to November 1954, now comprise *The Open Mind*. But you should not try to answer it without reading them.

As Dean Latimer (a man of most uncomfortable perspicacity) has said, one source of Oppenheimer's "amazing" influence is his "phraseology." Some of his historic phrases—"the physicists have known sin" and "two scorpions in a bottle," for example—hitherto available only in periodicals, are found here. Oppenheimer is a poet, and it is because so much of his genius goes into deft articulation that almost any utterance of his deserves serious study. He may not always mean what he says, but he always means something by what he says.

In May 1946 he said: "There is only one future of atomic explosives that I can regard with any enthusiasm: that they should never be used in war." Since then atomic explosives have not been used in war, though this country has engaged in war, and has increasingly invested its resources in atomic explosives.

Atomic explosives are today our chief military reliance. Can we use them or not? The man in the street thinks this an absurd question. It is not, for many reasons. And one of these reasons is that Robert Oppenheimer still sways the minds of newspaper and radio executives, university presidents, foundation officers, and others of the managerial elite. Oppenheimer's conscience may well make cowards of them all.

During the 1954 hearings Chairman Gray asked, "At what time did your strong moral convictions develop with respect to the hydrogen bomb?"

"When it became clear to me," Dr. Oppenheimer replied, "that we would tend to use any weapon we had."

Oppenheimer has the right to believe that we ought not to use atomic or hydrogen bombs. But when men of affairs support a military strategy

(*Continued on p. 30*)

# A Book List

**The following are among the books published during 1955 that seem to us worth reading:**

POETRY

*Collected Poems*, by Robert Graves. Doubleday. $4.50

*The Poems of Emily Dickinson*. 3 vols. Belknap. $25.00

*Selected Poems*, by Roy Campbell. Regnery. $6.50

NOVELS

*Band of Angels*, by Robert Penn Warren. Random. $3.95

*Officers and Gentlemen*, by Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown. $3.75

*The Cypresses Believe in God*, by José Maria Gironella. 2 vols. Knopf. $10.00

*A World of Love*, by Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. $3.50

HISTORY AND POLITICS

*China Under Communism*, by Richard L. Walker. Yale. $4.50

*France Against Herself*, by Herbert Luethy. Praeger. $6.50

*Soviet Espionage*, by David Dallin. Yale. $5.75

*The Call to Honour*, by Charles de Gaulle. Viking. $5.00

*Admiral Kimmel's Story*, by Husband E. Kimmel. Regnery. $3.75

*The Case of Colonel Petrov*, by Michael Bialoguski. McGraw-Hill. $3.75

*The Explosion*, by Rainer Hildebrandt. Duell, Sloan. $3.75

*The United Nations: Planned Tyranny*, by V. Orval Watts. Devin-Adair. $3.00

*Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*, by Max Eastman. Devin-Adair. $2.75

*The Heresy of Democracy*, by Lord Percy of Newcastle. Regnery. $4.00

*How the Communists Negotiate*, by Admiral Turner C. Joy. Macmillan. $3.50

*Architecture, Ambition and Americans*, by Wayne Andrews. Harper. $7.50

*The Parkman Reader*. Edited by Samuel Eliot Morrison. Little, Brown. $6.00

*The UN Record*, by Chesly Manly. Regnery. $4.00

*The Decline of the American Republic*, by John T. Flynn. Devin-Adair. $3.00

*Treaties Versus the Constitution*, by Roger Lea McBride. Caxton. $1.00

EDUCATION

*The Restoration of Learning*, by Arthur Bestor. Knopf. $6.00

*Collectivism on the Campus*, by E. Merrill Root. Devin-Adair. $5.00

*Academic Freedom*, by Russell Kirk. Regnery. $3.75

*Education or Indoctrination*, by Mary L. Allen. Caxton. $4.00

BIOGRAPHY

*Emily Dickinson*, by Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. $5.00

*Henry Adams*, by Elizabeth Stevenson. Macmillan. $6.00

*Jefferson Davis*, by Hudson Strode. Harcourt. $6.75

*Lawrence of Arabia*, by Richard Aldington. Regnery. $5.00

*Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, by Talbot Hamlin. Oxford. $15.00

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

*Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, by Will Herberg. Doubleday. $4.00

*History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, by Etienne Gilson. Random. $7.50

*The Self and the Dramas of History*, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. $3.75

MISCELLANEOUS

*A Century of Punch Cartoons*. Edited by R. E. Williams. Simon & Schuster. $4.95

*The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, by Edmund Wilson. Oxford. $3.25

*The Letters of George Santayana*. Edited by Daniel Cory. Scribner's. $7.50

*The Letters of W. B. Yeats*. Edited by Allan Wade. Macmillan. $9.50

*A Southern Reader*. Edited by Willard Thorp. Knopf. $7.50

*The Voice of the Desert*, by Joseph Wood Krutch. Sloane. $3.75

*Hadrian's Memoirs*, by Marguerite Yourcenar. Farrar, Strauss. $4.00



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wholly dependent on the use of nuclear weapons and yet endorse, and so perpetuate the influence of, an architect-engineer of policy dedicated to and identified with preventing the use of nuclear weapons, that makes no sense.

That Oppenheimer is a leader is clear from his scorn of flattering those who flatter him. "I am over and over again appalled," he writes, "by how ignorant, how incredibly ignorant of the most rudimentary things about my subject, are my fellows the historians, my acquaintances the statesmen, my friends the men of affairs. They have no notion of what cooks in physics; I think that they have very little notion of what cooks in any other science."

Of course he is just saying that because it is true. But why have we scarcely a statesman, historian, or man of affairs to afford Robert Oppenheimer needed companionship by telling him how appallingly ignorant *he* is (or seems to be) regarding the most rudimentary national interests of the United States?

In February 1953 Oppenheimer told the Council on Foreign Relations that the 1946 U. S. proposals for international atom control "have been very dead a long, long time, to the surprise of only a few." Oppenheimer himself must have been among the few, for he was almost surely their author.

The theme which Oppenheimer has found for the lectures in this volume is openness, candor. But the advocate of candor is almost obsessed with the concept of "complementarity," and it is not clear what this does to a layman's notion of candor. (There's a nice topic for speculation: can there be any but a layman's notion of candor? Can you have esoteric candor?) If Robert Oppenheimer would fully open his own mind it would be a great day for this country.

He may do it, too, for surely he must be disgusted with the sycophantic coterie of journalists and attorneys by whom he is now attended.

Recurring in *The Open Mind* are allusions to and speculations upon "style," including but not limited to the literary sense. In every sense, I would recommend to Dr. Oppenheimer the style of Edward Teller.

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# Perfect Damn Fool

**Brooks Adams: A Biography,** by Arthur F. Beringause. 414 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $6.00

As a thinker, Brooks Adams already seems very limited. His vision, like Marx's, or Spengler's, was typically nineteenth century, subsuming that human history observes patterns of evolution as fixed and inflexible as those of the vegetable or animal kingdoms. *Law* was his keyword. It seems never to have occurred to him that, as a friend of mine once said, God may have so loved the world that He gave it, among other things, a share in its own historical inevitability. Similarly, Adams could distinguish only two basic human motives: fear and greed. Of the everyday, homely, disinterested incidence of love, he retained a lifelong innocence.

Nor was he a very likeable man. Though his own brother Henry regarded him as a genius, he preferred his letters to his conversation. Teddy Roosevelt frequently took his advice, but found it impossible to use him in any personal capacity. He was cantankerous, snobbish, bullying, saturnine, and monumentally self-assured (when a young lady once declined his marriage proposal, he replied, "Why you perfect damn fool!"). Viewing mankind from a chill altitude, he saw the particular decades around him in irredeemable decay, and he expressed his contempt for them so relentlessly that when his wife read his most famous work, she suggested he call it *The Path to Hell: A Story Book.*

His biographer will therefore have to reckon not only with Adams himself, but with something less easy, his own attitude as a biographer. For the most part, in this very intelligent, scrupulous, minutely documented study, Arthur Beringause keeps his contempt for Adams behind him. But sometimes it bursts vehemently out:

> Proud of his family and social background, he reverenced the idea of an elite class governing society and the state, and he set out to build his rationalized prejudices into a philosophic system. (p. 72)

> On this foundation Adams was to erect his Social Darwinism, justify his aristocratic predilections, and rationalize his own insecurity in a desire for order imposed from above. (p. 55)

I have not isolated these quotations merely to accuse Mr. Beringause of unprofessorial impartiality. On the contrary, I respect him for declining to be neuter. Further, I am not sure I disagree with him. But in this case, if I reduce everything Adams thought to a matter of "rationalized prejudices," then how about my own?

For instance: if Adams believed in an "elite class governing society and state," and reading this, I scowl and call him neurotic, fascistic and insecure, have I finished the matter off? Mustn't I now take a further step and ask myself if my reaction is any more independent of my own "social background" than Adams' distaste for the mob was independent of his? Mustn't I acknowledge the extent to which my suspicion and fear of the words "elite class" may originate in the group-minded orthodoxy by which my thirty-three years have been so profoundly conditioned? If I am to be contemptuous toward Adams, can I hold my contempt above question?

Though Adams' precepts and perspectives may not be very useful to us any more, one aspect of his character is exemplary. He was chronically, intractably, even tiresomely honest about saying what he thought. If it was unpleasant, unfashionable, unmentionable—as it usually was to his Utopia-minded contemporaries—he nonetheless dared to speak out. He was never timorously fond of merely sounding nice, cosy, wholesome and uplifting, at the expense of what he truly believed. A great many people today, including myself and Mr. Beringause I'm afraid, too often prefer sounding liberally *comme il faut,* to asking themselves exactly and maybe uncomfortably what they really think. Isn't this, too, a deeply "rationalized prejudice"?

ROBERT PHELPS



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# To the Editor

May I congratulate you on your patriotic effort to provide us with an exact opposite of the *Nation* and the *New Republic* . . . I enjoyed particularly Mrs. Heath's article, "How to Raise Money in the Ivy League."...

*San Francisco, Cal.* MRS. R. B. HUTCHINS

I have read each issue of NATIONAL REVIEW with much enjoyment and appreciation for the fine literary quality of the articles and reviews presented. You should be commended . . . for your contribution in bringing to the climate of political opinion in this country a deeper insight into fundamental American principles of self-government and a clearer concept of truth.

*Dallas, Texas* ZELL SKILLERN

. . . Even for a first issue it's a superlative job in many ways—honest, jam-packed factually, witty . . . in short, something we have been waiting and praying for in America. . . .

*Huntsville, Utah* FR. GILES A WEBSTER, O.F.M.

Your objectives outlining the purpose of this journal are those which the Founding Fathers used in constructing a "new nation" under God, a nation which fought so valiantly to resurrect human dignity from the dunghill of European Machiavellianism. Please accept my congratulations. May the "birth" of this badly needed and long sought for journal clear the way for a re-declaration of independence, an independence that is the only hope for a life without chains, and a peace that is really lasting. . . .

*New York City* TED S. BRUCHALSKI

Your introductory issue is most refreshing. Information on the activities of the collectivists is difficult to come by, and your publication should keep us informed . . . I intend to see that this magazine is made available to my patients in my waiting room. If doctors, as a group, do this I think it will help to reverse the trend to collectivism.

*Lancaster, Texas* DR. ROBERT A. JONES

. . . May I suggest that we cannot afford to let the collectivists monopolize that important word "liberal." Why not rather insist on distinguishing between true liberal and false liberal, or at least putting "liberal" in quotation marks always when referring to the false breed? . . .

*Mt. Horeb, Wisc.* LEWIS O. ANDERSON

You are certainly to be congratulated for launching a weekly conservative magazine . . . The best of luck!

*Indianapolis, Ind.* LEROY M. PELKIN

Needless to say I am delighted with [NATIONAL REVIEW]. It is not only informative but it is also written in an interesting style.

*Somersworth, N. H.* ULRIC JACQUES

Congratulations to NATIONAL REVIEW! May it live long and serve worthily as the long-needed house organ of the outnumbered, but still dynamic, American Underground that refuses to bend with the prevailing winds of Regimentation, Monopoly, Conformity and Ideological Sleepwalking.

*Denver, Col.* RALPH CHAPLIN

You have asked for comments. This is mine. I find the material most informative, but I think you are writing to those of us who do a great deal of reading anyway. Our number is limited. To accomplish results for the libertarian point of view, we must get to the uninformed and the indifferent.

*Los Angeles, Cal.* LEDRA A. BAXTER

The writer became so absorbed in the contents of the first issue of NATIONAL REVIEW that it was 1 A.M. when he finished reading it, and enjoyed every minute, without becoming tired. The style and the arrangement of articles, editorials and book reviews is excellent.

*Milwaukee, Wis.* E. C. ROAMER

I like the short to-the-point articles and the breadth of the scope of the subjects. . . .

*Alexandria, Va.* MRS. JOHN M. WOODING

Re the December 7 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Apropos intellectuals: Hereafter why not dub them for what they really are—professionals trained for the cultivation of ignorance? The thought is inspired by Sam M. Jones' reference to Adlai Stevenson as an intellectual who ". . . are notorious for their instability." The idea also applies to that motley crew of Dr. Dooley's sympathizers and defenders. . .

*New York City* JAMES PIGOTT

Your article regarding . . . the big foundations, along with what I already knew, has caused me to resolve to buy no more Ford automobiles, trucks or tractors. . .

*Kansas City, Mo.* DOC GOULD

. . . I am crazy about it and liked the second issue even better than the first. Mr. Jones' article in particular intrigued me because I am so interested in the political viewpoint. Your wonderful weekly really fills a gap . . .

*San Francisco, Cal.* MRS. S. APPITT

Your invitation to become a subscriber received. I favor all such efforts toward sanity . . . However, I doubt if I could join you after reading the first article by Sam Jones, indicating clearly approval of Dan Thornton as a possible successor to President Eisenhower. The President of this country enjoys more power than almost any leader in any country . . . Therefore it is actually alarming to read of anyone even considering a man with almost no training like Thornton . . .

*Los Altos, Cal.* GEORGE T. KEATING

This sort of publication is long overdue. We need this viewpoint more widely disseminated in the battle for men's minds. . . .

MRS. HAROLD G. WHITCOMB
*Rocky River, Ohio*

What with the excuses we have in Philadelphia for newspapers, NATIONAL REVIEW is just what I've been waiting for. . . .

*Philadelphia, Pa.* JOHN J. HAUGHEY

I have enjoyed your weekly's first two issues tremendously—especially Willmoore Kendall's "The Liberal Line."

*Yuma, Ariz.* DR. CARL M. BENGS



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# *The Outlook for 1956*

**The Roman seer who made the American papers by predicting that in 1956 Soviet Russia will return to the policies of Stalin was obviously taking no chances with his batting average. If it's that easy, we too can qualify as experts in reading the future. Here are our predictions for 1956:**

Chester Bowles will say something foolish.

Adlai Stevenson will have a hard time coming to no decisions.

George Meany and Walter Reuther will deplore right-to-work laws.

Westbrook Pegler will deplore labor unions.

Anti-Communist books will get bad reviews in the *New York Times*.

Herblock will not draw a friendly cartoon of Senator McCarthy.

Willmoore Kendall will make a number of gloomy predictions.

James Burnham will see a tiny ray of hope.

Owen Lattimore will remain on the faculty of Johns Hopkins University.

The UN will debate.

The Fund for the Republic will not make a grant to NATIONAL REVIEW.

The Central Intelligence Agency will continue to be our government's primary source of top-secret misinformation.

NATIONAL REVIEW will make clear why such things happen and what they mean. We therefore suggest, as your first New Year's Resolution: "I will urge my friends to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW."

E ROY SMITH
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